Choreographies of Protest Performance as recruitment to activism and the movement of perception during the 2015 re-emergence of student activism at Rhodes University.

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Acknowledgements

Many years ago when I was in first year, a lecturer asked a couple of us, ‘why are you here?’, seventeen year old me responded “I am here so that I can live a better life than my mother did and my children can have a better life than I have had”. I soon forgot that purpose as I battled and continue to battle with anxiety and depression. I often wonder how my life would have turned out if I never came to university because what I now know for sure is being placed in this type of environment was arguably the worst thing my spirit witnessed my body do. Throughout this journey, finding meaning and drive became harder with every sentence and I honestly cannot believe I have made it to the other side. I value every life lesson that has come from this, I hated most of them, but for better or worse, they taught me about myself.

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Abstract

It has been argued that individuals participate in activism due to an identification with the preferences and interests of an emerging group of actors or in solidarity with a pre-existing network that has resorted to a number of protest repertoires in order to make claims or demands. Additionally, an emerging instance of protest is often linked to an image of previous protest events through the employment of a combination of master frames which function as discursive articulation of the encounter in familiar terms, creating a frame resonance which recruits adherents and constituents. To understand why some bystanders to protest transcended to actors in protest and the development of frames within a protest cycle, a performance ethnography is employed to observe and analyse choreographies of protest which took place at an institution of higher education in South Africa during the 2015 re-emergence of wide-spread student activism. It is found that in encountering an atmosphere of protest there emerged a relation of feeling, referred to as "feeling the vibe or atmosphere", which those who became protest performers resolved in ways which increased their capacity to act in favour of co-constituting that atmosphere. During the encounter between the bystander body and the atmosphere of protest, non-linear somatic communication, characterised by active and passive gestures and postures, occurred through which protest performers developed contact and connection with other bodies as a result of the displacement of space. This thesis suggests that participation in activism can be about going with the flow of movement in an uncertain and ambiguous moment and is not limited to an identification with the pre-existing organization of preferences and interests as a frame of resonance emerges to signify somatic communication which differentiated bodies in the duration of protest performance. Therefore, this thesis uses the theory of affect to situate student activism in-between the politics of performance and the performance of politics whereupon the rhythm of song creates an opening for the kinaesthetic to create form from spontaneous movement of the body as an event of the movement of perception and the perception of movement.

1. Background and Context

A majority of institutions of higher education in South Africa were sites of protest action between 2015 and 2017. What started at the University of Cape Town as 'Rhodes Must Fall' inspired proxies, such as 'Rhodes So White' and 'Open Stellies' in other historically white institutions, Rhodes University and Stellenbosch University respectively, echoing similar grievances and using similar strategies of protest such as occupation and nation-wide university shutdowns (Bosch: 2017; Ngidi et al: 2016). The protest action that occurred between 2015 to 2017 period has been compared to the emergence of student activism during Apartheid in both historically white and historically black institutions as students arranged and participated in protest events aimed at an unequal education system which came under scrutiny for remaining static at best and growing more authoritarian at worst. Similar to their counterparts in Senegal, Kenya and South Korea during the second half of the 20th century, South African students became the "vanguard of democratic defiance" in their actions against the administration of the Apartheid state through the university (Bianchini: 2016; Macharia: 2015; Makanike: 2015; Mazrui: 1995). In the post-Apartheid era, there has been an increase in education participation rates, but access to the 'ivory towers' has been offset by perceptions of an institutional inability to manage massification (Cele: 2014; Luescher et al., 2015; Reddy: 2004). It could be said then that in both the Apartheid and the Post- Apartheid period, student activism in South Africa has always been about a perception students have about the management of the state through the university. Therefore, this thesis occupies itself with the movement of that perception, manifesting as and through student activism, during the period under consideration.

1.1. The Emergence of Student Activism in South Africa

The emergence of student activism in South Africa has been written about through the activities of student organizations such as the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond / Afrikaanse Studentebond, the South African Student Organization and their complex relationship with the National Union of South African Students (Badat: 1998; Brown: 2010; Erbmann: 2005; Hendricks: 2008; MacQueen: 2013, McKay: 2015). Since the formation of the first university colleges- The University of Cape Town [1829], Stellenbosch University [1866]), University of the Witwatersrand [1896] and Rhodes University College [1904]- of post-secondary learning in South Africa, the sphere of education was not exempt from separatism of the prevailing status quo. Whereas the Higher Education Act of 1923 did not preclude qualifying students

from applying to any university, for most of the history of the South African university, higher education was reserved for white students (Beale, 1998: 53). The first "non-European" students to enter English medium universities were those deemed "Coloured" and "Indian" at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) from the mid to late1930s (Beale: 1998; McKay: 2015). In this initial period of the South African academy, Rhodes University College refrained from admitting "non-white" students to courses offered at the University College of Fort Hare, but conceded to admitting black students at post-graduate level in the late 1950s (Greyling, 2007: 28- 32). In a society in which few black students qualified for university in the first instance and even fewer qualified for post-graduate studies in the second instance, this amounted to a systematic exclusion from higher education. This served as a continuation of the disregard for and subsequent 'Africanization' of black formative education which prevented many African students from enrolling in "professional and applied fields such as architecture, dentistry, engineering, pharmacology and veterinary sciences" (Beale, 1998: 58).

A speech by Prime Minister Malan following the 1948 election, utilising words such as miscegenation, can be read to mean that separate universities were envisioned to prevent the university from establishing a culture that was not reflective of the Republic of South Africa (McKay: 2015). Following this, the new National Party government commissioned a series of enquiries into the possibility of "financing and constructing five[1] separate ethnic universities" (Erbmann: 2005; McKay, 2015: 95). As the parliamentary debate about the Separate Universities Bill intensified, South African liberals grew suspicious of the envisioned government oversight and as such some academics from historically white institutions launched a campaign in defence of university autonomy and academic freedom (Jansen: 2004). A disgruntled United Party (opposition party to the National Party) Member of Parliament disapproved of

> the methods, the compulsion or the control of regulations… the far-reaching powers being accorded to the minister [of higher education] or state – (Beale, 1998: 90).

The liberal front posited that the very existence of the university was threatened, for how a university does what it does, that is research and teach, requires a certain degree of academic freedom. For instance, T. B. Davie, UCT Vice Chancellor [1948-1955], strongly advocated that the university should have the autonomy "to choose whom to teach, how to teach, what to

[1] "3 for the major Bantu groups, one for Indians and one for Coloureds" – Greyling (2007: 55)

teach and whom shall teach it" (Erbmaan, 2005). The claims made by T. B. Davie came to be known as the four freedoms of the academy.

For the ruling Afrikaner nationalists, however, academic freedom was not inherent or paramount, but universities were envisioned to "transcend the Boer Volk" (McKay, 2015: 45). If the Boer Volk were unthreatened, the state would not interfere in the affairs of the university. Therefore,

> …it was the state that was primarily responsible for shaping and maintaining the Apartheid education system and after 1948, universities became interlocked with the state for purposes of advancing Afrikaner material interests and consolidating Afrikaner power to the point where the boundary line between accountability and autonomy became totally blurred (Davies, 1996: 320).

One analysis of the period, however, posits that the major change brought by the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 was to shift the onus for reviewing black applications from the university council concerned to the government (Beale: 1998). In requiring students to furnish ministerial consent prior to entering white universities, the National Party effectively diverted the demand for higher education by non-Europeans away from white universities to "ethnic" universities. Thus, contrary to the emphasis on legislative changes in the literature, the National Party government did not embark on a new endeavour; it merely extended the established praxis of white trusteeship which had no place for black advancement in the white world. It achieved this by actively promoting the same injustice and inequality that were common cause under the preceding Smuts administration and its predecessors (Beale, 1998: 60).

The main actor in the 'academic freedom' campaign on behalf of students was the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). NUSAS was created in 1924 as an alliance of university students' representative councils and from its inception all students enrolled in English-medium and Afrikaans-medium universities were members of NUSAS (McKay, 2013: 48-51). There is no evidence to suggest black students in white English-medium universities had ever been active members of NUSAS, but from the mid-1930s onwards, some liberal factions from Wits and UCT tabled the possibility of including non-white students from the University College of Fort Hare (McKay, 2015: 43- 45; Murray, 1993: 210). It is rather interesting that these factions went on to forge contact with non-white students from Fort Hare when both social and academic segregation were normal within their universities. An account of affairs at the University of Cape Town in the 1930s is illustrative: -

> Black students were ‘grudgingly tolerated’ by the university administration and a student poll in 1937 showed strong opposition to black students being included in social activities (Greyling, 2007: 27).

In seeking contact with non-white students from Fort Hare, there emerged tensions between right-wing Afrikaans-speaking students and conservative-liberals from Wits and UCT over the intentions of NUSAS to establish common studentship with “Native” students (McKay: 2015, Murray: 1993). It can be inferred that the ASB also resented that NUSAS had shown preference for the well-being of non-white students as they also felt excluded in “open” universities. Some Afrikaans-speaking students had long resented the failure of “open” universities to adhere to bilingualism and they further despised the “domination by the English” they were subjected to through NUSAS. Upon failure to convince NUSAS of an exclusive all-white student union, Afrikaans-speaking students seceded from the union and created the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond (ANS), which later became the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB). Following the secession, the ANS/ASB employed various contradictory tactics to delegitimise NUSAS as the largest representative body of South African students (McKay: 2015). As custom, NUSAS frequently attended international student conferences as the voice of South African students, but the ANS/ASB later became “enraged at the scale and success of NUSAS’s international campaigns” (McKay, 2015: 155; 205). Whereas ANS/ASB used these conferences to present the National Party ideology in a positive light, NUSAS rebutted their colleagues by critiquing how the National Party ideology conflicted with post World War Two “universal declarations” and the ethics of the academy (McKay: 2015). Many students in the ASB identified as Nazi and not only condemned South Africa’s involvement in the Second World War, but subsequently lobbied for quotas to limit the number of Jewish students studying medicine at Wits and UCT (Beale: 1998; McKay: 2015).

Most university students in South Africa were morally, socially and politically conservative due their religious upbringing and all aspects of their lives had been conditioned by their racial identity (McKay: 2015). A majority of students in English medium institutions, including the then University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg & Durban), reflecting a mixture of political apathy and conservatism, viewed the “academic freedom” campaign as entering the realm of mainstream politics which they avoided as they were not opposed to continued segregation (McKay: 2015). In any case, a fair number of students at the time had no intention of living in South Africa after they graduated. Rhodes University College had a significant number of students from modern day Zimbabwe who either returned home after university or like their

counterparts from UCT and Wits pursued higher degrees and employment overseas (Greyling: 2007).

Although the "silent majority'' were content with the status quo, some supported "academic equality" by showing up for mass meetings, picket protests outside parliament in Cape Town, "Burn The Bill" protests, stayed away from classes and participated in simultaneous protest marches intended to coincide with the readings of the Separate Universities Bill in parliament during 1956 and 1957 (Greyling, 2007: 47; McKay, 2015: 109-118). Absent from the "academic freedom" campaigns are the narratives of black students in English medium universities who would have been directly affected by the implementation of university apartheid. For instance, the scholarships that applied to them would decline, admission policies in "open" universities would be more stringent and they would increasingly be denied the opportunity to read electives which were deemed unsuitable to the needs of their people. There is a high probability that had they participated in the campaigns for academic freedom, the government would have seen it as further justification for their removal from white universities. During the second reading of the Separate Universities Bill in parliament, Minister of Education J. H. Viljoen presented black students in white universities as a potential security risk despite evidence to suggest that they kept to themselves and avoided conflict with their fellow white students (Greyling: 2007; McKay, 2015).

In comparison to their contemporaries in open universities, black students at Fort Hare had long established a tradition of protest and boycott which dated back to the 1940s. From these acts of solidarity, political identities emerged in favour of African liberation. Student organizations such as the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), African Students Association (ASA), and the African Students Union of South Africa (ASUSA) formed to accommodate various factions within the student body, albeit all in favour of African liberation (Brooks & Brickhill: 1980; Brown: 2010; Reddy: 2004). Most of these organizations did not feature in the national "academic freedom" campaign as they held suspicions about NUSAS liberals and for most of them, even if university Apartheid was not enacted through the Separate Universities Bill, the status quo of social segregation would remain unchanged. Thus, rallying against academic freedom was too narrow. Notwithstanding, an alliance emerged between black student organizations and NUSAS which was aimed at shifting the perception, varying in degrees, of what the decentralisation of the administration of the Republic of South Africa according to racial lines means or should be taken to mean.

As an act of good faith, NUSAS broadened their list of demands to include the system of Apartheid in society. During the June 1957 NUSAS Assembly the UCT and Wits SRCs drafted a resolution which stated: -

> The Assembly realises that education cannot be separated from the society in which it takes place, and that apartheid in education is an integral part of, and stands and falls with, the total policy of Apartheid applying to all spheres of South African life
>
> Consequently, the Assembly declares its opposition to the government policy of Apartheid (McKay, 2015: 127).

Although the Extension of Universities Act was initially tabled in 1949, civil society managed to delay its implementation for close to a decade with public debates in parliament and mass student protests (Beale, 1999: 100). For most of the 1960s, National Party MPs often referred to NUSAS "as the Communist Party in disguise", "a cancer in South African society that must be cut out" and the Minister of Education [1961- 1966], Johannes de Klerk, "threatened to withdraw the state subsidy to universities affiliated with NUSAS" (Erbmann: 2005; Greyling, 2007: 92; McKay, 2015: 374). As a harbinger of trouble, the state treated NUSAS as an internal security threat that needed to be contained, NUSAS was equally despised by most of its potential allies in historically black universities and subsequently experienced a quiet death in the English- medium universities that were shameful of its existence.

At the time of the emergence of student activism, there were multiple overlapping & parallel movements operating within different countries and which transcended national territories (Horn, 2007; Klimke & Scharloth, 2008). In parts of Africa, activism was not limited to university campuses, but had deep connections with the broader politics of African liberation and the adaptation, by many emerging African elites, of the Soviet-Eastern Bloc world view during the Cold War (Bianchini: 2016). As a result, student activism was often "conflated with communism and white English medium universities were construed as 'hotbeds of communism'" (Greyling, 2007: 90). Criticism of students often led to their radicalization and subsequently, a number of students from both historically white and historically black institutions were expelled, arrested and their movements restricted due to their involvement in some form of student activism.

1.2. The Transformation of Higher Education after Apartheid: Massification in the Age of Austerity

When Apartheid officially came to an end in the early 1990s, the South African government began the conversation on how to undo the injustices of the past and dismantle the residues of structural inequality and segregation. The transformation of South Africa's higher education sector was first deliberated during the National Commission on Higher Education in 1994 and subsequently in the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) (1994), The White Paper on Education (DoE, 1997), the Council on Higher Education's Toward a Higher Education Landscape(2000) and the Draft National Plan for Higher Education in South Africa (DoE, 2001). There emerged proposals for the restructuring of an elitist system to encourage "an absolute growth in student enrolments" (Jansen, 2004: 292). Similarly, the White Paper on Education advanced that higher education should cater for a "more diverse body of learners than present which reflect the demographic realities of South Africa" (DoE, 1997: 9). An absolute growth in student numbers occurred between 1990 to 1994 with Historically White Afrikaans medium universities and historically white English medium universities experiencing an over 100% increase in black student enrolments (DoE, 2001: 36-37; Reddy: 2004). For instance, in 1990 'blacks and others' constituted 13 % of the student body in historically white institutions, whereas in 2014 the 'African' component of the student body at Rhodes University was over 50 % and higher elsewhere (Matthews: 2015; Reddy: 2004). This phenomenon has been referred to as the massification of higher education for as more black and working class students, deemed non-traditional students, access higher education, the higher education system transitions from elite to mass (Luescher: 2016; Reddy: 20004). To ensure massification, it was put forward that the higher education environment should be a safe one that enables the "uprooting of deep-seated racist and sexist ideologies and practices that inflame relations, inflict emotional scars and create barriers to successful participation in learning and campus life" (DoE, 1997: 9). This would involve "a critical identification of existing inequalities which are a product of policies, structures, practices based on racial, gender, disability and other forms of discrimination" (DOE, 1997: 6). Further, it required that all existing practices, institutions and values be reviewed and rethought for their fitness in the new era (McKenna & Quinn, 2012: 135).

In the mid-2000s, there emerged claims that although previously disadvantaged groups' participation rates had increased, institutional and social transformation was moving at a slower pace and failing to accommodate the increasing numbers of black students and staff. Many

institutions were either failing to implement state recommendations or their manner of implementing recommendations was inadequate (Soudien: 2008, 2010, 2011). An analysis of the experiences of black staff members in former 'open' universities such as former Deputy Vice Chancellor of Wits, William Makgoba and former Director of the Centre of African Studies at UCT, Mahmood Mamdani concluded that historically white institutions were still in the grip of "systematic racism" (Taylor & Taylor, 2010: 899). In contrast to Apartheid, systematic racism in historically white institutions had become "indirect and subliminal" (Soudien: 2010).

As more first generation black academics entered historically white institutions, there emerged tensions over language policies, campus residence allocation policies and the racial compositions of the student representative councils in historically white institutions. In some historically white Afrikaans medium universities, social segregation was still a common with many black students often feeling a sense of "denigration and humiliation" over certain rituals, ways of doing things and the mundane reality of campus life (Koen, Cele & Libhaber, 2006: 412). For others commenting on the period, the status quo of separatism meant that some black students in Historically White Universities felt "intense frustration and alienation" (Makobela, 2001: 68) and at times anger (Reddy: 2004).

Moreover, "the profile of academic staff and the knowledge producers in higher education remained largely white and male, and dominant traditions, symbols and patterns of behaviour" were reminiscent of Apartheid (Jansen, 2004: 297- 311). In the findings of the Soudien inquiry into a video recording featuring white male students humiliating black cleaning staff from the University of the Free State, it was resolved that in the South African university, there is a "disjuncture between institutional policies and the lived experiences of staff and students" (Lange: 2014; Narismulu & Dhunpath, 2011: 1- 2; Soudien, 2008; 2010; 2011; Portnoi, 2009). For behind the increasing student body hid an institutional inability to interrogate unchanged institutional cultures which have caused a fair amount of discomfort for so-called non-traditional students. According to Matthews (2015: 66), institutional cultures is a broad term for "certain values, attitudes, perceptions, practices and ways of doing things that are embedded in the institution". Further, they operate in the informal climate of the university whereupon some individuals feel a "racialised aspect of their experiences in university" (Lange: 2014; Matthews, 2015: 68).

In *Higher Education and Social Transformation: South African Case Study*, Reddy (2004) suggests it was not only institutional cultures which prevented the transition from an elite to a mass system, but rather the manner in which the opportunity to access higher education became conditioned by cost-sharing. From the late 1980s onwards, many 'Third World' governments grew to exercise fiscal conservatism on social goods, such as education, following the advice of the Bretton Woods institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Bellei & Cabalin: 2013; Cabalin: 2012; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002: 446). As a result, government investment per student began to decline every year whereas tuition fees increased to counter inflation creating a climate in which higher education became and continues to be unaffordable for poor and working-class students (Bianchini: 2016; Cloete & Moja: 2005; Koen et al: 2006). It has been proposed that the neo-liberal consumerist view of students reduces them to clients paying for a service which produces an

> …uneven regime where student interests [and power] are likely under-acknowledged, with prospects of more student protests as a common expression of student claim-making while formal decision-making structures fail to accommodate student power and interests adequately (Luescher et al.,, 2016: 18).

1.3.The Re-emergence of Student Activism in Historically White Institutions

On the 9th of March 2015, Chumane Maxwele "threw a bucket of human feces" over the then 71-year-old statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the UCT (Pett, 10 May 2015). Soon after the incident, Maxwele alleged :-

> As black students we are disgusted by the fact that this statue still stands here today as it is a symbol of white supremacy. How we can be living in a time of transformation when this statue still stands and our hall is named after (Leander Starr) Jameson, who was a brutal lieutenant under Rhodes… This poo that we are throwing on the statue represents the shame of black people. By throwing it on the statue we are throwing our shame to whites' affluence… As black students here we have to change our ways just to fit in, and we have to keep quiet for almost three years before we can speak in the classrooms. It is time for all of that to change (Bester, 10 March 2015).

The statue in question had long created a sense of unease for many students enrolled at UCT prior to that particular Monday morning and had been subject to numerous acts of defacement. A case in point being an incident in early 2014 whereby "a collective of Graffiti artists named Tokolos Stencils had tagged the podium on which Rhodes sat with the words 'Remember

Marikana' and an image of Mgcineni Noki (The miner in the green blanket)" (Knoetze, 23 May 2014). On a statement released by Tokolos Stencils, they claimed to have acted:-

> In honour of all black UCT students whose land was stolen from their ancestors and whose natural resources were privatized by one Cecil John Rhodes. Moreover, Tokolos reminds us that colonialism and the massacre at Marikana are not only interconnected but part of a long history of dispossession, exploitation and murder of blacks (and especially poor blacks) Coz 1994 changed fokol. – (Tokolosstencils.tumblr.com, 22 May 2014).

In response to the "acts of vandalism" by Tokolos Stencils the university facilitated discussions about the role of Cecil John Rhodes in founding the university and his continued presence there (Knoetze, 23 May 2014). Similarly, after the Maxwele led 'poo protest', there were a number of public gatherings of students in physical space and social media and in those meetings, a number of black students echoed a growing dissatisfaction with transformation which earlier had been noted by the likes of Taylor and Taylor (2010) & Lange (2014) amongst others. UCT students who were interviewed by MTV South Africa (2015), a channel airing on Multichoice's DStv, posited that:-

> [The 'poo protest'] sparked a deeper conversation about transformation within the university and around the country.
>
> It's been an accumulation of small discourses around the statute and other symbols… and institutional racism around campuses and policies that are perpetuating racism in a very subtle manner
>
> There are a lot of things [like] the black academics on campus… I think 30% of the professors and associate professors are black. You know the treatment here… how you don't assimilate to the university when you arrive… when you're a first year. You can feel, like, there's a vibe.
>
> There's a vibe on campus… The sense of belonging is not really there.
>
> When I got to UCT I could really feel on a human level that I wasn't seen. There's a way in which white people interact with each other that makes me feel like I don't belong and I don't think it's a conscious thing. I think it's a psychopathology in the minds of black and white people that we haven't really let go of the ways in which we think about ourselves.
>
> There's confusion coming from the white community as to what this really means. Is it just a statute? Is it more than that? I think white people's roles in this engagement in particular [should be] active listening.

During an Open Air Dialogue on the 12th of March at UCT, Fairbanks (2015) observed that:-

> A great number of black students were very, very angry as the statue represented much about the university that still celebrates white culture- its curriculum is Eurocentric, its governing council is mostly white, and its financial and mental-health support for black students is weak.

A week later, in Grahamstown, between 5 to 10 students made comments in a 15th of March 2015 status update which stated 'white kids at Rhodes never want to talk about race related issues'. Subsequently, the status became a social media trend after being shared on the Rhodes students' representative council Facebook page and took on a life of its own under the hashtag #RhodesSoWhite on Twitter. The following day, the 16th of March 2015, some of the comments that were made on the status update and the tweets gathered under the hashtag were prominently placed outside of the Rhode University library. This led to the Mail and Guardian publishing an article called "#RhodesSoWhite: Is the Race Revolution here?" (18 March 2015). In an opinion piece for *The Con*, Ngcobozi argued that "the social media campaign was to bring to the fore the intersections of micro- and macro- aggressions faced by black students" (17 March 2015).

That week there were two important meetings, the first called by the Black Student Movement (BSM) on behalf of those interested in issues of transformation (17th March 2015) and the second, an emergency student body meeting by the Rhodes students' representative council to engage on issues of transformation and the name 'Rhodes' (19th March 2015). Those who identified as the BSM during both those meetings pledged solidarity to 'Rhodes Must Fall', the movement that emerged after the 'poo protest', and provided numerous instances of "anti-poor policies" which neglected the plight of black students in a historically white institution (Alasow: 2015; Naicker: 2015; Valela: 2015). The manifesto of the BSM read:-

> This movement came out of conversations about our personal experiences as marginalised students who are not able to cope because of the structural, class-based, and intellectual oppression of the Rhodes environment (BSM Facebook page, 2015).

An analysis of the BSM posits that the movement sought practical adjustments to university policy so as to "improve the experiences of black and working class students in the university- who neither felt at home or could cope" (O'Halloran, 2016: 188). Throughout 2015 and 2016, the BSM called student meetings which often broke out in protest, their members initiated a 23-day occupation of the Senate chambers and enforced nation-wide shutdowns in the Rhodes University campus.

Although, there has been an interrogation of Rhodes Under Apartheid, summed up as acquiesce with apartheid policy, untaken by Rhodes University History Professor Paul Maylam (2005) and the students he has supervised such as Greyling (2007), what is missing in the literature on student activism in the South African post-apartheid context which this thesis seeks to address is how feelings of systematic racism and exclusion, described as humiliation, denigration, alienation, not feeling at home, which were often negotiated through university governance structures in partnership with student representation such as the students' representative council, escaped the corners they were hidden in and became expressed via informal protests between 2015 and 2017.

1.4. The Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1: Background and Context

This chapter has provided the context in which student activism in South Africa's historically white Institutions emerged and has developed vis-à-vis its relationship to the decentralisation of the administration of the Republic of South Africa. The locus of protest is centred in civil society and in resistance to the policies of the National Party. It reveals three phases; the first was prior to the Extension of Universities Act of 1959, the second was between the late 1960s to the late 1970s as "University Apartheid" was entrenched, the third emerged in the mid-1990s as institutions of higher education began to implement policy recommendations aimed at transforming South Africa's institutions of higher education in an age of fiscal conservatism, saturated with residues of the Apartheid era institutional cultures.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter explores the literature on student activism through four main themes; a reading of the style of protest by the irrational crowd behaviour framework, an interpretation of the ability of disgruntled groups to turn constraints into opportunities as resource mobilization, a focus on the networks which emerge and are created from ideas of being and belonging (collective identity) and the contemporary framing techniques employed by those who initiate hashtag movements and participate in cyber-activism. Throughout the scholarship, it is presented that "Framing" recruits individuals to activism as it is the articulation of grievances which mobilises people and this has relegated the body, which does the activism, to a secondary status.

In an attempt to understand recruitment to student activism prior to the framing of grievances and the development of frames within a protest cycle, this thesis asks what can be said about the role of affect (a theory of becoming, in motion or stasis, which assembles practices and performances) in the re-emergence of student activism in the historically white institution named Rhodes University in South Africa?

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The third chapter introduces the theory of affect which offers a number of propositions to how the body acts on certain potentials and not others. Deleuze and Guattari (1987), in their interpretation of Spinoza, posit the body actualises potential in becoming that which increases or decreases its capacity to act. Massumi (1995; 2002) interprets the movement of intensity as an event perception that is automatic, and prior to event appraisal, thus speaking to the unconscious away from psychoanalysis. Similar to Massumi, Thrift (2004; 2008) argues that there is a story to and a logic in the movement of the body that is prior to representation, but can be assembled from performances and practices. Whereas the revival of Deleuze and Guattari has offered an ontological shift to subvert the limitations of representation, Thrift's epistemological intervention offers a theory of becoming which assembles practices and performances. In response to critics that affect is unsustainable without a prior interpretative schemata, affective economies propose certain signs attach and are attached to certain bodies and thus the production of affect is a discursive articulation. Affective atmospheres/geographies view what is actualised as an effect of the intermixing of "the outside" and "the inside"; a parallelism of the body and mind in which a product of the environment becomes the environment via its embodiment. What the different versions of affect do is postulate embodiment as a process. Although, they may differ on whether the process is involuntary or elicited, they all are united in the idea that the movement of intensity and forces is an image and assemblage of perception.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Earlier studies of student activism, for the most part, employed quantitative research methods for data collection through the mass distribution of questionnaires, survey sampling and regression analysis of questionnaires and survey responses used for coding and representing data. In response to that tradition, there was a search for patterns in experience through observation and the search for explication through interviews to construct a performance

ethnography informed by creativity and intuition. Data was firstly decontextualized for patterns of similarity and subsequently recontextualized through an interpretation of the way in which the gap in the literature, on "framing", manifests in the research context via the presentation of hypotheses in the language of the theory of affect.

Chapter 5: The Transgression of Space

In this chapter, protest is presented as liminal and performative spatial transgressions which organize bodies who were 'out of place' in the previous spatial order via movement which negotiates difference in space via relations of encounter. To do so, it goes into the outbreak of performance to explore how the atmosphere of protest captures the spectator body and transforms it into an actor in protest. The suggestion becomes that the somatic event whereupon the rhythm of song triggers a relation of feeling which is resolved by the extension of the body is one of the primary means through which bodies are recruited into participating in activism. In following the participants' felt affects, referred to as 'feeling the vibe or atmosphere', there was an immersion of the body into a performance of protest which beckoned the spectator of protest to respond in ways which sustained or amplified the intensity of the atmosphere found.

Chapter 6: Somatic Communication

Whereas song can generate a vocabulary with which to perceive a situation or issue by re-distributing cultural images, there is the development of the idea that coherence amongst an emerging group of political actors proceeds by way of somatic dialogue manifesting as active and passive gestures and postures between bodies. In choreographies of protest, kinaesthetic intelligence is privileged for giving spontaneous movement form which sustains and amplifies the intensity of protest as the body receives and conveys rhythmic properties. For those in somatic dialogue, there is an investment into unity as creating difference in spatial relations as somatic communication motivates norms of reciprocity amongst a collective body of protest performers who establish affinity based on contact and connection.

Chapter 7: The Signification of Movement

Motivated by the understanding that perception is an ontology of images, this chapter concerns itself with movement image vis-à-vis memory image in the situating, interpretation and construction of movement through framing schema. Using the example of non-cooperation and subsequent generation of an injustice frame by an affinity group displaying ideal behaviour as a rebuttal to bodies which disrupt the somatic dialogue between bodies established in

choreographies of protest such as protest performance, this chapter continues to make an argument for the primacy of movement by illustrating how it is given linguistic form after the fact of its occurrence. Memory images, as a form of structured movements, may become actual in duration, but it is most probable that spontaneous movement will be qualified, in effect, to signify movement via a discursive articulation of the encounter.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In this thesis there has been the construction of protest performance ethnographies, characterised by somatic communication in relations of encounter between actors who are merely going with the flow of movement, improvising a shared point of contact, and creating a connection. The view is that the performance does not disappear as it emerges, but through it bodies become how they are constituting the future present in passive and active gesticulations and mobilities. What has been produced by this socio-linguistic investment in spontaneous movement is an attempt to give form and meaning to the becoming actual of forces and intensities in choreographies of protest as through their actualized potential, bodies are able to re-imagine their place in space.

2. Literature Review

Student activism began to be widely written about in the 1960s after a number of protests at the University of California, Berkeley, the college student led "Freedom Summer" occupations in the American Southern state of Mississippi and the mid 1968 student demonstrations in other parts of America and Western Europe. The question "what is student activism?" has been asked through an analysis of events students use to express their interests and preferences during a particular period of time (Badat: 1998; Brickhill & Brooks, 1980, Lipset: 1967; Yang: 2008). The period of time under consideration often brings various contenders into a cycle of action and response until reforms are introduced or the issue lapses into irrelevance (Balsvik: 1998; Brown: 2010; Brickhill & Brooks: 1980; Davies: 1996; Hendricks: 2008; Howe: 1965; Ibrahim, 2011; Klemenic et al.: 2015; Lipset: 1967; Theocharis et al.: 2011; Yang: 2000; Zhoa; 1998). As a majority of literature on student activism frames a series of protests as part of a wider civil society social movement, the research interest has always been the types of actions which create linkages with other groups in society in order to birth a movement (Badat: 1998; Cele: 2014; Gusfield: 1971; Hanna: 1971; Lipset: 1967; Marchart: 2012; Zhao: 1998).

2.1. Traditional Framing of Student Activism

Four major themes have been identified in activism literature: a reading of the style of protest through the irrational crowd behaviour framework, an interpretation of the ability of disgruntled groups to turn constraints into opportunities as resource mobilization, a focus on the networks which emerge and are created from ideas of being and belonging (collective identity) and the contemporary framing techniques employed by those who initiate trending topics and participate in cyber-activism.

i. Social Psychology of Collective Behaviour

Initially, student activism was received as an anomaly in many conservative post-World War Two societies. The research interest became how did the shift in perception, about things such as the civil rights of African Americans in the Southern states of Mississippi or the American presence in Vietnam towards the late 1960s, occur? As a consequence of being viewed as a

societal problem, early work on student activism tended to be typologies of activists (Lipset: 1967). Following regression analysis of survey sampling and questionnaire responses, variables such as the degree being undertaken by the student to their domicile during their reading of particular disciplines, emerged as factors most likely to encourage activism or foster a political outlook orientated towards activism (Lipset: 1967; Sherkat & Blocker; 1994; Smith: 1970; Yang: 1998). It was hypothesized that the liberal university had a politicizing and radicalizing effect for students who became exposed to how the social structure functioned through prescribed course content, student groups/ organizations and networks, events hosted and public figures invited by the university or a student group/ organization (Crossley: 2008; Rootes: 1980).

Whereas students gathered to illustrate how they perceived an issue or situation, it was often concluded that the manner they went about it was irrational. According to convention, protest action should be permitted by university authorities and law enforcement authorities, and in embarking in non-endorsed protest, students undermined the authority of their *loco parentis*. Earlier theories of crowd behaviour had argued that whereas each individual possesses the potential to be rational, once amassed he or she became irrational as they failed to make the *right* "means to end" calculation (Elster, 1989: 70 [my emphasis]). Gustav Le Bon (1896: 86-87; 129) put forward:-

> A chain of logical argumentation is totally incomprehensible to crowds, and for this reason it is permissible to say that they do not reason, and are not to be influenced by reasoning. The fact that they have been transformed into a crowd puts them in possession of a collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them could feel, think and act in a state of isolation. There are certain ideas and feelings which do not come into being, or do not transform themselves into acts except in the case of individuals forming a crowd.

Alternatively, it has been postulated that rational actors rather choose self-preservation and when reforms are introduced, they can "free ride" and take advantage of the benefits introduced without initiating or engaging in activism (Olson: 1971). Therefore, the intellectual incapacity to work within the available dispute resolution mechanisms illustrated that "protestors were alienated from society, unfulfilled in their lives, narcissistic, psychologically unstable or susceptible to being swept up in the crowd" and therefore, their behaviour was "pathological" and showed a lack of control (Gould, 2009: 13-14; Laclau: 2005).

ii. The Mobilization of Resources

During the late 1970s, some American sociologists grew disillusioned with the irrational behaviour proposition as they critiqued the manner in which broad variables were used to weaponize the mental state of activists (McCarthy & Zald: 1977; Polleta & Jasper: 2001). They propelled a shift to the ways in which disgruntled groups often work outside of the structures and political processes which exclude particular groups to argue that it is the framing of preferences and interests which recruits individuals to protest (Billei & Cabalin: 2013; Macharia: 2015; Muagume & Luescher: 2015; Tarrow: 1993). A frame is imbued with universes of discourse which function as schemata for the actions suggested or taken (Goffman: 1974; Tarrow, 1993).

Secondly, it has been proposed that students often rely on and use the media to turn student preferences and interests into issues of public discussion (Bianchini: 2016; Laclau: 2005; Lipset: 1967; Macharia: 2015; Mazrui: 1995). The interactive and communication processes, often displayed in interviews or during face to face canvassing, have been acknowledged as having some potency in recruiting adherents and constituents as they foster frame resonance that can be referential and persuasive (Polkinghorne: 1988; Polletta: 1998, Snow et al.: 1986; Swart: 1995; Zuo & Benford: 1995).

iii. Collective Identity

Collective identity can refer to a pre-protest affinity, a style of protest, a strategy of protest and the outcome of protest (Polletta & Jasper: 2001). In collective identity literature, pre-protest affinities are made up of networks of solidarity and reciprocity which can be tapped into for recruitment to activism. There are networks comprising weak ties (acquaintances) and strong ties (close friends and family), high density networks (a relatively large share of members know each other), critical networks (a small but big enough number of likeminded people who form a network due to student life commonality, such as a student organization, group or special interest/cause), abeyance and submerged networks, which integrate the available networks and keep a level of political activity and commitment alive between protest sequences (Crossley: 2008; Granovetter: 1973; Olson: 1971, Melucci; 1989). It has been argued networks are critical in framing interests and preferences as networks foster particular attitudinal dispositions or mould perceptions, and activists can use them to spread information and influence (Badat: 1998; Boren: 2001; Billei & Cabalin: 2013; Brickhill & Brooks: 1989; Gould: 1997;

Granovetter: 1973; McAdam: 1986).

Although some people join protests as a result of being in a network with an established collective identity, student activism has been likened to an incubator in which beliefs and value systems are transformed, influencing the formation of new collective identities (Brickhill & Brooks: 1980; Gould: 2009; McAdam: 1986). The proposition states that a protest cycle goes beyond shaping public debate and institutional reform, but traverses to "how people perceive themselves and are seen by others" (Badat: 1998; Polletta & Jasper, 2001: 284; Sherkat & Blocker: 1994). As this works on both ends of the spectrum, collective identity is "shared and produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level)" who may recognise or repudiate the identity being constructed (Meluci, 1994: 44).

Marchart (2012) makes the observation that political identities have been increasingly driven by cultural factors, such as gender and the environment, since the wave of new social movements, which are widely conceived of as feminist and environmental in scope, whereas earlier social movements were traditionally motivated by grievances related to race and class. With increased push factors, some posit that prior exposure to activism, either through participation or "membership to a subculture that values political activity", propels individuals to partake in protest (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995: 494; Polletta & Jasper, 2001: 291).

2.2. Contemporary Framing of Student Activism

Traditionally, the physical concentration and co-presence of individuals was framed as important in the recruitment of individuals as it facilitates faster information transfer about issues, interests and preferences (Mattoni & Trere: 2014). In the last 15 years, some have observed the manner in which information and communication technologies (ICTs) have been able to: -

- Quickly disseminate information to a large number of individuals.
- Lower the costs of participation.
- And, quickly mobilize protestors in various geographical locations (Breuer et al.: 2015; Earl et al: 2013; Gamson & Sifry: 2013; Garret: 2006; Ibrahim: 2011).

Cyber activism has emerged as a protest repertoire used by actors that have an on-line presence, albeit in varying degrees. In light of this, the scholarship on activism has renewed interest in the importance of framing as it explores the "network society" which has been enabled by new

technologies (Castells: 2015; Garrett: 2006; Theocharis et al.: 2015). Social media, a type of ICT, is viewed as a platform on which preferences and interests are articulated, manipulated and deliberated upon and thus, communication technologies facilitate recruitment (Breuer et al.: 2015). On the one hand, it is "personalization of political action" that maintains high levels of engagement and on the other hand, it is the loose membership and non-binding nature of new social movements which attracts large numbers to public demonstrations (Segerberg & Bennett: 2011).

Whereas some are uncertain about what is qualitatively different about the type of activism mediated and performed on information and communication technologies (Kahn & Kellner, 2004: 89), the likes of Papacharissi (2015) argue that ICT platforms, such as social media, illustrate a range of political performances through which individuals present the self. To this end, there is a particular identity construction taking place on social media through hashtags, profile icons, slogans and membership to certain groups which binds participants as a collective (Gerbaudo: 2015). Such identity construction is not limited to social media as online allegiances are often replicated offline (Lim: 2012). The relationship between cyberspace and physical space was initially drawn out by Castells (1996, 1997, 1998, 2006 & 2015) and Castells & Cardoso (2006) who predicted and identified a pattern in contemporary movements in which there is first the occupation of cyberspace through a hashtag and then the physical occupation of sites associated with the issue the movement credits for its existence with. In such instances, cyberspace is used to invite movement actors to occupy physical space and once physical space has been occupied, movement actors utilise cyber space to ensure the longevity of and give legitimacy to the physical occupation.

Amongst those punt for social media's recruitment potential, referred to as techno-optimists, the research interest lies in the influence social media has on pre-existing networks, how it bridges weak and strong ties, and whether it can garner the same level of solidarity and reciprocity as networks which traditionally relied on face to face interaction (Chadwick, 2013; Gamson & Sifry: 2013; Garret: 2006). On the other hand, techno-pessimists posit that although 'the conversation' provides "a critical displacement of energy", clicktivism provides a false sense of participation (Dean, 2012: 318; Gamson & Sifry, 2013; Bosch, 2017). They hold that, contrasting with the formation of strong political identities, the interactive process sparked by 'the conversation' is merely an "ephemeral engagement" with an issue producing "shallow commitments which fail to build long-standing relationships" or organizations (Kavada: 2015).

2.3. Continuities and Discontinuities with the Framing of South African Student Activism vis-à-vis the Global Frameworks

At the time of its emergence, student activism in South Africa was viewed as being in opposition to the management of the state through the university illustrating what some student activism literature has referred to as a generational conflict which manifests as a critique and subversion of authority (Lipset: 1967). Secondly, the emergence of activism in historically white institutions was couched in grievance-based language by the National Union of South African Students and the liberal front campaigning for academic freedom (Beale: 1998; MacQueen: 2013; McKay: 2015). Thirdly, South African student activists have been credited for framing their preferences and interests in ways that have amplified their grievances, delineated adherents and opponents, and suggested styles of protest through the collective identity known as Black Consciousness (Badat: 1998; Beale: 1998; McKay: 2015).

Although protest action has been credited as one of the means via which students have delayed austerity measures by the neo-liberal university, structural strain persists as is observable in the 'financial strikes' which have taken place in both historically black and historically white institutions (Badat: 1998; Cele: 2014; Jansen, 2004; Koen et al.: 2006; Pithouse, 2006). Similar to their counterparts in parts of Chile, Denmark, Spain and the United Kingdom, South African students are sharing their discontents about the neo-liberal university on ICTs (Cini & Guzman-Concha: 2017; Dean: 2012; Risager & Thorup: 2016; Torres & Schgurensky: 2002). ICTs have implications for the framing of preferences and interests, the formation of networks and the constitution of collective identities in ways that have not received much attention in the South African context.

2.4. Rationale

With the shift from psychological to sociological analysis of collective behaviour enabled by the theories of resource mobilization, the classification of activists according to irrational and rational categories has been largely abandoned (Polletta & Jasper: 2001). The initial problematic of why a pre-existing discontent gains a new sense of urgency when it does and why protesting individuals act the way they do needs further exploration. In Zhao (1998), for instance, it is argued that the ecology, structure and layout style of the Beijing university campuses facilitated the execution of simultaneous protest events by Chinese students leading to occupation of Tiananmen Square in 1989. That structure, however, had been in place prior to the Chinese student movement and the interests and preferences which were expressed by

the protesting students had been fermenting and observed for over a decade.

For some, the gap in signification is a consequence of how framing schemata render the body, which does the activism, as inarticulate (Foster: 2003). In the social psychology of collective behaviour frameworks, the body falls prey to ideas of the collective as it is made to realise preferences and interests, where it would otherwise lack the agency to confront structural inequities on its own. In the alternative, it has been put forward that prior to representation of frames and the proclamation of collective identities, most individuals participate in some form of political activity or campaign and it is only in the reassessment and renegotiation of initial haphazard participation that participants "develop rationales for what they are and are not doing" and therefore, there needs to be "processual and activity orientated understanding to participation" in activism prior to the development of a rationale (Snow et al., 1986: 467). To tap into that "prior", inspiration can be found in Laclau's (2005) *On Populist Reason* wherein he makes the argument that there needs to be a shift in the unit of analysis as most theories of collective action have always embarked on the diagnosis of an already self-proclaimed politically active group. This echoes earlier sentiments by McAdam (1986: 67) to the effect that there needs to be a shift away from social movement organizations to specific demonstrations or actions in order to "understand the process by which an individual comes to participate in a particular instance of activism".

There was leeway found in an interpretation of Deleuze which referred to "a micropolitics that explains the construction of individuals from pre-personal forces" (Colebrook, 2002: xxxiii). Colebrook, a noted Deleuzian, espouses a post-structuralist understanding of phenomena that is prior to representation. In an attempt to understand recruitment to student activism prior to the framing of grievances and the development of frames within a protest cycle that seek to reassess, renegotiate and legitimate initial haphazard participation, this thesis asks what can be said about the role of affect (a theory of becoming, in motion or stasis, which assembles practices and performances) in the re-emergence of student activism in the historically white institution named Rhodes University in South Africa?

3. The Theory of Affect

In the last 20 years, a number of scholars in the humanities and social sciences have taken an interest in the approach to thinking and writing about phenomena that has come to be known as the affective turn (Ahmed: 2004; Anderson: 2006; Blackman & Venn: 2010; Brown & Stenner: 2001; Brennan: 2004; Clough & Halley: 2007; Colebrook: 2002; Duncan & Barrett: 2007; Gibbs: 2010; Gould: 2009; Hemmings: 2005; Henriques: 2010; Massumi: 1995, 2002; Seyfert: 2012; Thrift: 2008; Wetherell: 2012; Williams: 2005). The seminal "The Autonomy of Affect" (Massumi: 1995) and subsequent *The Parables of the Virtual* (Massumi: 2002) favour becoming prior to being, with the former rooted in certain metaphysical stances by Spinoza, Bergson, Deleuze and Guattari and their interpretation of Bergson, to argue that the emergence of movement is ontologically prior to linguistic categories, position and signification which subsequently interpret movement. In so doing, affect is positioned within the post-structural critique of the capture and reduction of social phenomenon by socio-linguistic representation. The affective turn, however, is met with an acknowledgment of particular affects, but resistance to a general theory of the autonomy of affect to which it responds that the creativity of movement, not only cues in categories of signification, but ensures the continuity of being.

3.1. Metaphysical Context

Massumi's theory of affect is a reading of Spinoza, Bergson, Deleuze and Guattari during and following his English translation of Deleuze & Guattari's (1980) *Mille Plateaux: Capitalisme et schizophrénie 2* into *A Thousand Plateaus: Schizophrenia and Capitalism* (1987). Deleuze is one of the scholars associated with the first wave of post-structuralism alongside the likes of Foucault and Derrida, but did not refer to himself as a post-structuralist. By many accounts post-structuralism defies comprehension as it works within the structure it later shows to lack foundation. Notwithstanding, from the mid-1990s there was a posthumous revival of the Deleuzian Philosophy of *Difference and Repetition* (1968) by a number of cultural theorists such as Massumi (1995), Colebrook (2002) and Williams (2005).

Although differing in many respects, for Deleuzists, in representation there is a focus on what is produced, such as "an identity", and not the means or relations of production (Hasty: 2010).

It is then argued that this abstraction of process represses the proliferation of multiplicities, oversimplifies the complex nature of becomings and glosses over the differences which emerge from encounters and relations through packaging them in structures (Massumi: 1995, 2002). To avoid the limitations of what is produced by representation, the argument proceeds that encounters and relations are virtual in essence, but actual in effect (Bergson: 2002; Deleuze: 1988; Massumi: 2002). This assumes prior to actual forms, the virtual image is an originary point or a number of originary points which use the body [human and non-human] to participate in the actual as forces and intensities exist mostly as "planes of potential" (Blackman & Featherstone, 2010: 20; Deleuze & Guattari: 1987, Moulard-Leonard: 2008). This is then to suggest the means or relations of production must be interrogated in order to mitigate an abstraction of this dynamic process.

Massumi (2002) proposes the processes of the virtual image in the actual operate within the laws of affect as they pertain to how the body acts. Largely influenced by the Spinozian conception:-

> Affect/Affection..*Affect* (Spinoza's *affectus*) is an ability to affect and be affected. It is a pre-personal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution of that body's capacity to act (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: xvi).

Subsequently, in its articulation by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and Deleuze (1988) as meaning that the body actualises potential in becoming that which increases or decreases its capacity to act, Massumi (1995; 2002) interprets the movement of intensity and forces as an event perception that is automatic, and prior to emotional appraisal, thus speaking to the unconscious away from psychoanalysis.

Similar to Massumi, Thrift (2004; 2008) argues that there is a story to and a logic in the movement of the body that is prior to representation, but can be assembled from performances and practices. Whereas the revival of Deleuze and Guattari has offered an ontological shift to subvert the limitations of representation, Thrift's epistemological intervention offers a theory of becoming which assembles practices and performances. In response to critics that affect is unsustainable without a prior interpretative schemata, affective economies propose certain signs attach and can be attached to certain bodies and thus the production of affect is a discursive articulation. Affective atmospheres/geographies view what is actualised as an effect of the intermixing of "the outside" and "the inside" in which a product of the environment

becomes the environment in embodying it and likewise, bodies can change the environment via their embodiment.

3.2. **Becoming**

In everyday discourse it is common to speak of a person becoming healthy, becoming religious, becoming insane etc. and metaphysically speaking, the encounters of bodies and minds produce other bodies and minds through becoming them. What is known of the body, through its actualised potentials, is how it has become; "becoming is the presentation of our living embodiment" (Dewsbury, 2000: 485). The philosophy of Deleuze posits that the totality of becoming is "unrepresentable" for it is in excess of human perception and often takes a different form once it has been coded into narrative, but the politics of becoming infers that it has been represented within the structure of language knowledge production accumulated thus far in human history (Colebrook: 2002). Through that structure, it could be said that a becoming is a claim that a certain change has occurred or is occurring in the assemblage of "relations, connections or parts of a thing or body" (Colebrook, 2002: xxvi).

When the intensity of affect escapes from confinement within a particular body, it is becoming one of the many potentials of smooth and striated space. In *Becoming Places*, Dovey (2009) brings forth Deleuze's spatial properties of space namely smooth space and striated space; the former being characterised by "movement, instability and difference" whereas striated space is the stabilization of movement into routines, habits and identities (Ibid. 2009: 21-22). Whereas the two are said to be in a reciprocal relation of movement with one informing the other through impingements of being and becoming, in affect theory, emphasis is placed on the potential of smooth space to transform the beings of striated space (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 474- 500; Dovey; 2009).

In their last known collaboration, *What is Philosophy?*, Deleuze and Guattari (1994: 169) remarked in passing that "affects were the nonhuman becomings of man" and at the turn of the millennium, a number of scholars in cultural studies explored the becoming horse, becoming whale, becoming dog, becoming shark, becoming raven and becoming *Shetou* (snakehead), amongst others, in their engagements with Deleuze (Lorraine: 2005; Papadopulous & Tsiano: 2007). What the "becoming animal" literature revealed were the many ways in which nominal identities and categories become negotiated through the embodiment of manifold potentials (Deleuze in Colebrook: 2002; Hickey-Moody & Malins: 2007; Williams: 2005). Therefore,

“all ‘beings’ are just relatively stable moments in the flow of becoming-life” and in becoming, there is a continuity of being (Colebrook, 2002: 125).

3.3. The Affective Turn

3.3.1. Massumi on the movement of intensity

Following the passing of Deleuze, there was a posthumous revival of the style of thinking and writing about variation in relations and encounters between bodies and ideas of such modifications as explored in Deleuze’s *Philosophy of Difference and Repetition* (Colebrook:2002; Williams 2005). Massumi reads Deleuze as a focus on the primacy of the affective against “the system of signifiers and representation” and favours emergence from a pre-conscious state as intensity and force have been ‘narrativised’ after the fact of their occurrence in an instance of socio-linguistic investment (Colebrook: 2002; Massumi: 1995, 2002; Williams: 2005). To do so, he differentiates affect from the language of emotions by taking issue with one of the components of emotion appraisal. Theories of emotion acknowledge three aspects of an emotional episode, namely “physiological change/arousal, motor expression and subjective feeling” (Scherer, 2004: 240). In *Ethics*, both affect and emotion are characterised as a modification or an idea of a modification illustrated by motion or rest of the body and this can be inferred from how Baruch Spinoza used the terms affect and emotion interchangeably; e.g. “Affects include emotions, By EMOTION (affectus), what takes place as an affect (an emotion)…” (Bennett, 2004: 55; Brown & Stenner, 2001: 89). In *Parables For the Virtual: Movement, Affect and Sensation* (2002: 27), both emotion and intensity- which Massumi uses interchangeably with affect- are immediately embodied, but intensity “follows a different order and pertains to a different logic” than its capture in narrative. Massumi (2002: 57) argues that a potential separation can be made between the ‘quality’ of an experience and its intensity. The ‘quality track’ leads to “naming and conscious awareness [conventional discursive and linguistic framing such as the labels people attach to affecting events as they turn experience into talk and narrative], while ‘intensity track’ has very different properties [a push, physiological arousal, the unprocessed chaotic state of bodily happening] and is better described in terms of strength and duration” (Massumi, 2002: 57). Although, what is widely known of forces and intensities is their capture, in the language of Deleuze, representation is a response to “a prior problem or experience; an attempt to give order to a sense that pre-exists it” (Colebrook, 2002: 20). That prior problem comes first and the language

which interprets it through recognition and signification comes after to reduce the complexity of its emergence (Colebrook: 2002; Massumi, 2002: 25-26).

Massumi (2002) employs the Deleuzian style of delineating affect through difference, that is, what it is not. In the alternative, what does the Massumian image of affect look like? For one, along with other Deleuzists, he conceives affect as a type of embodied sensation that is felt before it is thought (Massumi: 2002; Hikey-Moody & Malins, 2007: 10). He imagines a number of sense making systems such as synesthetic forms, proprioception & biogram to be "orientation devices" which come to the aid of the body when it becomes overwhelmed by the force of intensity (Massumi: 2002). Therefore, the feeling of intensity or force automates physiological change/ arousal and motor expression as affect prior to subjective content whereas emotion functions within an economy of meaning making (Clough & Halley: 2007; Massumi: 2002; McCormack: 2003). A becoming is ascertained by the thermodynamics of an encounter as it moves in sequences of virtual in the actual, actual in the virtual (Delanda: 2005; Hulse: 2010). Movement becomes an umbrella term Massumi uses to denote what Deleuze referred to as the longitude and latitude of an encounter;

> We call longitude of a body the set of relations of speed and slowness, of momentum and rest, between particles that compose it from this point of view, that is, between unformed elements. We call latitude the set of affects that occupy a body at each moment, that is, the intensive states of an anonymous force (force for existing, capacity for being affected). The longitudes and latitudes together constitute Nature, the plane of immanence or consistency, which is always variable and is constantly being altered, composed and recomposed by individuals and collectivities (Deleuze, 1988, 127–128).

In sum, affect is an event experience registered at the level of the physical body, prior to it being given meaning in linguistic terms.

3.3.2. Affective Contagion

Massumi (2002) provides the blueprint for a model of affective contagion which reimagines the psychological understanding of imitation and suggestibility in crowd behaviour away from considerations of rationality and irrationality by positioning affect as the becoming automatic of biological and neurological phenomenon flowing between bodies to produce an encounter between the bodies. Biological and neurological phenomenon become another code word for imperceptible forces and intensities which are forced into an actual state when powers to affect and be affected are addressed by an event (Thrift: 2008). Brennan (2004: 70), speaking to how the atmosphere "literally gets into the individual", imagines the imperceptible biological and

neurological phenomenon through the workings of pheromones, which, when released by one body change the behaviour of another. In duration, this relation between bodies manifests as the mirroring of body language (Brennan: 2004). Between Massumi's denigration of emotion and the stress on "biological and neurological" phenomenon, the theory of affect unintentionally revives theories of emotion in their considerations of the unconscious and its relation to subjectivity.

3.3.3. Non-Representational Theory: Performances and Practices

Nigel Thrift (2004: 60) establishes his contribution to the turn to the body as a

> In-human or transhuman framework in which individuals are generally understood as effects of the events to which their bodies respond and in which they participate

The 'turn' suggests that they respond and participate in ways that can be surmised as "automatic reactions", "process before signification or coding" and "aspects of experience that are not linguistically mediated" (Massumi, 2002: 7; 88; Tucker, 2010: 513-514). Whereas the revival of Deleuze offered an ontological shift to some in the humanities and social sciences, Thrift illustrates a shift in epistemology. Thrift (2008: 4-5) spends less time in the metaphysical world of Spinoza and Bergson in his *Non-Representational Theory* which he dedicates to the "leitmotif of movement", but avows to place an emphasis on "a series of body practices which animate- 'turn on'- the body". Non-Representational Theory shares parallels with *Parables For The Virtual: Movement, Affect and Sensation* (Massumi: 2002) in proposing there is a story to and a logic in the movement of the body that is prior to its qualification in socio-linguistic framing.

The turn to affect has created a space for what has been termed "a creative approach to thinking difference" (Hulse, 2010: 23). Thrift (2008: 113- 125) begins with drawing in developments from feminist theory, such as the push for performance, which views "signs as being grasped in practice" or "meaning generated through processes". Performance is attractive in 'the turn' as the performative hinges on

> actions more than text: with habits of the body more than structures of symbols, with illocutionary rather than propositional force, with the social construction of reality rather than its representation (Schechner, 1998: 195).

In non-representational theory, the movement of the body is a sign of agency in its relation with structure (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 23; Grosz: 1994). The capacity of the body to

become moved by practices and performances has been explored through threshold concepts such as liminality which are employed to articulate the manner in which becomings transform being. Liminality is one of Van Gennep's 'rites of passage' whereupon "subjects of ritual" transgress structures and beings to open an ephemeral space-time that is filled with new potentials and desires, which generate new ways of modelling reality through innovative behaviour, outside the "multiplicity of laws, rules, regulations and customs which make up a system of control" (Turner, 1979: 465-469, 486). According to Georgson & Thomassen (2017:198-199), the essential elements of liminality are

> suspension of ordinary rules, a fundamental questioning of power structures and political legitimacy, an order turned upside down; a situation marked by volatility; ambivalence and potentiality

3.3.4. The Three Syntheses of Time

Prior to an event perception, in abeyance, there rests memory images which may or may not orient future movement. If and when those memory images come to the aid of the body, by becoming automatic, they cut into the sequence of time for the sake of the future present and in so doing, create a passive present which becomes past in being experienced (Faulkner: 2006; Stover: 2017). The in-between becoming automatic and becoming past is the reason why affect is viewed as fleeting for the recognition of its emergence is also its disappearance. The body in motion is;

> in dissolve; out of what it is ceasing to be, into what it will already have become by the time it registers that something has happened (Stover, 2017: 200).

In the passive present constituted in-between becoming automatic and becoming past, the body establishes a connection with another body and such relations are an effect of bodies colliding or coming into contact (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 123; Thrift: 2004). Although affect is "autonomous from conscious perception", its effect is to draw perception, thus it functions as the "contraction and expansion by which consciousness narrows or enlarges the development of its content" – this being the outcome of the encounter (Hickey-Moody & Malins, 2007: 8; Mouland-Leonard, 2008: 5). An event of perception is an intermix between an "inside" and an "outside" with affect providing the context for movement and being a product of movement (Colebrook: 2002; Cresswell; 1996).

3.3.5. Affective Geographies: Place and Space

Affective geographies literature can be situated as non-representational for many cultural theorists view the character of space to be the infolding and unfolding of forces and intensities during the actualization of movement and not its structural location (Brennan: 2004). It follows that it is from embodiment of the flow of movement that a place gathers significance which bodies use to forge meaning (Cresswell: 1996; McCormack: 2003). In *Spacing, Performing and Becoming*, Crouch (2003) uses the term "spacing" to capture the ways in which an individual reconstitutes their surroundings through performance. Similar to theories of space, Cresswell (1996) proposes that place is "not simply a geographical matter", but always intersects with enacted and articulated discourses which order relations between bodies. Thus, space(s) and place(s) are both a product of social actions and social structures; emerging and responding in cycles of becoming and being (Low: 2008). Whereas earlier research on place attachment focused on positive affects, there has been an effort to broaden understanding of the emergence and development of negative and ambivalent feelings in certain places and spaces (Anderson: 2006; Henriques: 2010, 2011; Lobo: 2014; Tan: 2013).

3.4. Critique: An Incomprehensible New School Philosophy

Massumi's claims to the autonomy of affect, which he himself does not produce, is met with an acknowledgement of particular affects but numerous rebuttals to the autonomy of affect. Some argue that attempts to differentiate affect from emotions, narrative and discourse is merely analytical as in any encounter, affect and emotion are indistinguishable; they are "always already entangled with each other" (Anderson, 2014: 84). Moreover, through an avoidance of theories of emotion, there has been a selective and partial interpretation which authorises particular ontological claims at the expense of others (Blackman & Featherstone, 2010; Leys: 2011; Papoulias & Callard, 2010: 33; Wetherell & Beer: 2014). Therefore, autonomous affect is not sustainable as emergence and becomings are linked to semiosis and on their own, they are incomplete, partial and inconsistent (Wetherell & Beer: 2014).

Secondly, there have been no other means of describing affect but through acts of representation. This inherent contradiction in the critique of representation leads the likes of Bell (2003) to refer to Massumi's efforts as "an incomprehensible new school philosophy". For

the critiques, to strictly follow what Massumi thinks he is doing presents an unfortunate trajectory for those in the humanities and social sciences as the theory of affect is the capture of affect. Capture is seemingly unavoidable as,

> It is in the very nature of reason to represent difference through analogy, resemblance, opposition and so on, each of which in one way or another, routes difference through a concept of identity (Hulse, 2010: 23).

Thus, it is to completely misunderstand the intent of the philosophy of difference- as being lost via conventional ways of expressing it- for affect theorists do not aim to dispense with representation, but rather aim to reconfigure the terms of its deployment through how they present the process of becoming (McCormack: 2003).

3.5. Affective Economies

For want of procedure for *Difference* some cultural theorists have taken clues from the critiques of autonomous affect to explore the ways in which signs accumulate affect. For instance, in 'Affective Economies', Ahmed (2004) uses narrative to illustrate how certain speech acts create geographies of inclusion and exclusion which increase the capacity to act for those included and decrease the capacity to act for those excluded. Speech acts function as signifiers which attach and are attached to certain bodies and accumulate their effect through being in circulation (Ibid.). Emerging from the political economy of affect are questions aimed at what are the cultural and learning processes that make affects stick and in identifying those elements, the extent to which their nature can be manipulated for particular political and consumerist ends (Blackman & Venn: 2010; Clough & Halley: 2007; Hansen: 2004; Thrift: 2004; Wetherell: 2012). An affective economy functions within the realm of Austin's (1962) "How to do things with words", with utterances propelling the movement of bodies for "representations are performative in themselves, as doings, redirecting attention from the *posited meaning* towards the *material compositions and conduct of representations*" (Dewsbury et al., 2002: 438 [emphasis in original]). An interpretation of Judith Butler proposes that "all discourse has a performative as well as a descriptive character" and thus, performativity becomes more powerful when all the routes of becoming, whether representative or non-representational, are considered (Crouch, 2003: 1948; Gilbert, 2004: 45).

3.6. Conclusion: An Assemblage of Affect

What the different versions of affect do is postulate embodiment as a process. Although, they may differ on whether the process is involuntary or elicited, they are all united in the idea that the movement of intensity and forces is an image and assemblage of perception. Colebrook's (2002: 4) translation and interpretation of Deleuze posits that "something in the world forces us to think- this something is an object not of recognition but of fundamental encounter". In seeking to develop an argument from the originary point which enables actual forms to become, affect theory is saying what has been captured in representation does not capture what led to its capture. Naturally, with every interpretation of the proliferation of multiplicities and their becoming automatic/ actual, there is a differentiation of what they entail and make possible and that is the critical point in post-structuralism (Williams: 2006). The quest is not what affect is, but rather what "different versions of affect do in our theorizing" (Blackman & Featherstone, 2010: 9; Hickey-Moody & Malins, 2007: 2). The primacy of movement enables affect theory to venture into the creativity of movement via how it is constituting the future-present. It offers a way of thinking through a language of dualism that supposes that what is actual is an abstraction of the virtual and there is also the reciprocal determination of the virtual by the actual. The turn to affect offers ways of constructing an assemblage of the body in motion instead of an emotive body-image which gives agency to individual bodies in their capacities or powers to affect one another in order to change the structure of beings.

4. Methodology

This research has employed qualitative research methods in the phenomenological paradigm to draw out a performance ethnography informed by observation and semi-structured, yet open ended interviews. Qualitative research is an approach to the world outside of the controlled environments in which scientific, neurological, and chemical experiments are usually undertaken. It follows that the nature of qualitative research is concerned with the experiences of individuals and groups in their interactions and usage of various communication styles, and the analysis of documents, such as images, film and music, which capture those experiences (Angrosino: 2007). In phenomenology, "reality is comprehended through embodied experience" and therefore, the movement of bodies is an illustration of perception (Starks & Trinidad, 2007: 1374).

Earlier studies of student activism employed quantitative research methods for data collection through the mass distribution of questionnaires, survey sampling and regression analysis of questionnaire and survey responses was often used as a means of coding and representing data (Aelst & Walgrave, 2001; Gusfield: 1971; Lipset: 1967). Although surveys and questionnaires have been useful in extracting participant perspectives without the intrusion of the researcher, surveys and questionnaires cannot capture what is often expressed beyond words and the meaning making processes behind survey responses. This becomes disadvantageous and requires the remedy of qualitative research methods "because relations and displays are difficult to quantify" (Eliasoph, 1990: 471).

In response to student activism research traditions, there was a search for patterns in experience through observation and the search for explication through interviews. Performance ethnography builds on two primary ideas; namely people learn through participation and daily interactions are improvised (Jones, 2002: 7). Although the likes of Schneider (2001), Martin (1998) and Phelan (1993) caution that the essence of performance is ephemeral, ethnography offers a being-there emic perspective that captures performativity long after the occurrence of performance. Moreover, through observation it is possible to isolate a certain sequence of actions for analysis in ways that circumvent the fleeting nature of affect and the ephemeral status of movement (Moore & Yamamoto: 2012). Performance ethnography becomes the product of the research endeavour aimed at delivering an embodied understanding or the feeling of the experience which was under consideration (Bacon, 2006: 135; Jones: 2012).

4.1. Observation

According to Angrosino (2007: 56),

> observation is suitable for events which occur in sequences of activities longer and more complex than single actions, in a specific location, have a defined purpose and meaning, involve more than one person, and are repeated with some regularity.

There is no universally accepted technique to conducting an observation, but note taking is common practice among ethnographers. Various ethnographers posit observation is a whole body perception as information is registered beyond what the eyes can see but speaks to all the senses (Angrosino: 2007; Blackman & Featherstone: 2010; Parviainen: 2010). According to Pink (2009), in doing a sensory ethnography, the researcher self-consciously and reflexively attends to and accounts for sensory information. For instance, attending to sensory information in the field entails taking notes when something just does not feel right or when an exchange between actors seems important. The researcher's intuition is their "immediate apprehension" of what is going on and the relationship between research, the researched, and the activity of research implies that phenomenology is a "philosophy of intuition" (Giorgi, 2002: 9; Janesick, 2001: 532). A research project is aimed at responding to a gap in the signification of an experience and, oftentimes that gap is discoverable in the "pas de deux" performed by intuition and creativity (Janesick: 2001).

4.1.1. Position as a Participant Observer

The re-emergence of student activism at Rhodes University happened during my honours year and at the time, I made observations from a public meeting for an elective I was taking and those observations have been revisited for this body of work (See Appendix A for Observation). At the time, I had "an active membership role" due to my attendance of the initial protest events in March 2015 and my observations contain a rich "being-there" account of the time under consideration as I, like most students at the time, witnessed protest unfold from 2015 to 2017 (Angrosino: 2007; Bernard: 1988). The idea to use them came as I was observing the movement of bodies in the Aryan Kaganof (2015) documentary *Decolon' I Sing* which captures a number of protests in duration from the period. It dawned on me that that my investment in the occurrence of protest events could offer an invaluable insight on the phenomenon. I have increasingly found that the embodied knowledge of being in the field as observer-as-participant has been tapped into during the interpretation and presentation of the research findings.

4.2. Interviews

It became necessary to conduct interviews in pursuit of participant informed guesses at meaning and thus, interviews were conducted to complement observations by providing greater clarity of the phenomenon under consideration (Bernard: 1988). Fourteen (14) people were approached for interviews through the technique of purposive sampling. Although purposive sampling is non-random (all the participants go to the same university, for instance), it differs from convenience sampling in that the researcher relies on his or her judgement to select research participants due to the qualities the participants possess (Etikan et al.: 2016; Guarte & Barrios, 2007; Marshall, 1996). The sample was informed by knowledge of the research area accrued from observation and the participants reflect the demographics of Rhodes University with a majority of them being African and female (Matthews 2015). Interview candidates were sought on the basis that they had been registered at Rhodes University for more than five years at the time of the interviews and the rationale for this was that they had been students at Rhodes prior to the outbreak of student activism in 2015, during and shortly after.

Name[2]	Race	Gender	Level of Study	Department Registered in
Asande	Black	Female	MA	School of Languages
Hefe	Black	Male	MA	Political and International Studies ; Philosophy
Amie	White	Female	Joint Honours	History and English
Swish	Black	Female	Ph.D. Candidate	Organizational Sociology (Labour Markets and Labour Law)
Bo	Black	Male	Ph.D.	Geology
Kendoll	Black	Female	3rd Year	History; Political Science and International Studies (Majors)
Somila	White	Male	Ph.D.	Philosophy
Reggie	Black	Male	Ph.D.	English

[2] To ensure anonymity, these are not the participants' real names.

Jaune	White	Female	MA	Environmental Science
Bella	Black	Female	Ph.D.	Geology
Laca	Black	Female	Third Year	Drama
Mihlali	White	Female	MA	Fine Art
JJ	Black	Male	LLM	Law
Tu	Black	Male	Ph.D.	Economics (Financial Markets)

Table 1: Participant Demographics in 2017

In terms of participation in student activism, six (6) informants were actively involved in most student led demonstrations/protest events, meetings, disruptions and occupations. Five (5) informants followed the student-led activities online and were members of all student based social media groups, some contributed to the social media groups and shared posts from the public groups on their personal profiles. The remaining three (3) were involved in both online and in physical space.

Prior to interviews, there were a number of questions, informed by the background and context, which were prepared and designed to provide structure to the interviews. However, each interview had a character of its own as it accommodated digressions and often followed up on reflections or statements made by participants. For instance, what they said was repeated as a question or followed with a “what do you mean?” There were instances of “tell me more about…”. Whereas Agrosino (2007) states that the semi-structured aspect of the interview should naturally follow the open-ended aspect of the interview, my interviews often started out structured and then became open-ended. Interviews took place in public spaces such as local coffee shops, the Rhodes University library and grounds. All interviews were recorded by the ‘voice memo’ app on the researcher’s smartphone. They were subsequently transcribed verbatim without the assistance of convenient software applications (apps).

4.3. Ethical Considerations

The study followed the Rhodes University Ethics Committee guidelines. Participants were approached in a public area; the quad between the English department and the Rhodes University library. Some individuals refused to be interviewed, whereas others wanted more information about the project before committing to it. To the ones who expressed an interest in

the research project and agreed to be interviewed, we discussed the contents of the consent form with their attention specifically drawn to their right to refuse to answer any question and withdrawal from the study altogether. Although one or two students were wary about signing their names on the consent form and sharing demographic information which could identify them, such as their registered degrees, they were assured their anonymity would be secured through the use of pseudonyms.

4.4. Data Analysis

Data analysis was characterised by decontextualization and recontextualization (Starks and Trinidad: 2007). In decontextualization, interviews and observations are studied for emic perspectives of what the group is doing and how are they doing it and then what emerges is broken down into patterns and themes (Angrosino: 2007). A pattern is "shared by members of the group (their actual behaviour) and one that is believed to be desirable, legitimate and proper by the group (their ideal behaviour)" (Angrosino, 2007: 68). Component parts were then assigned codes based on their similarity, reducing the data pool which was recontextualized for the ways it speaks to the literature available on the phenomenon under consideration in the language of the theory chosen (Angrosino: 2007). In the theory of becoming, in motion or stasis, which assembles practices and performances, these are the main conceptual tools that have been used to understand the research problem of the re-emergence of student activism in the historically white university called Rhodes University:-

To Be(come) Affected and To Affect		
Spontaneity of movement	Somatic Communication	Affective Geographies/ Atmospheres
Difference from Repetition	Contact Improvisation	Liminal Hotspots
Liminal and Creative Emergence of Form	Nonphysical connection	Spacing/ Place and Space

Movement as Event Perception	Affective Economies	Agency vs Structure
Kinaesthetic Intelligence		

Phenomenological analysis is primarily a writing exercise, as it is through writing and rewriting that the researcher can signify meaning to the reader (Janesick: 2001). According to Angrosino (2007: 15-18), there are many ways in which an ethnography can be narrated and the three most common categories are;

- Stories told in a *realistic* mode are depersonalised, objectively rendered portraits
- Stories told in a *confessional* mode are those in which the ethnographer becomes a central player and the story of the community under study is explicitly told through his or her point of view
- Stories told in an *impressionistic* mode openly embrace literary devices such as the use of dialogue, elaborate character sketches, evocative descriptions of landscape or décor, flashback or flashforward narrative structure and the use of metaphors

Pursuant of a dramaturgical analysis aimed at producing "order within disorder, while never foreclosing the disorder which arises out of order", there was usage of all three modes in the presentation of analysed data (Kershaw, 1997: 261).

5. The Transgression of Space

In this chapter, protest is presented as liminal and performative spatial transgressions which organize bodies who were 'out of place' in the previous spatial order via movement which negotiates difference in space via relations of encounter. To do so, it goes into the outbreak of performance to explore how the atmosphere of protest captures the spectator body and transforms it into an actor in protest. The suggestion becomes that the somatic event whereupon the rhythm of song triggers a relation of feeling, which is resolved by the extension of the body, is one of the primary means through which bodies are recruited into participating in activism. In following the participants' felt affects, referred to as 'feeling the vibe or atmosphere', there was an immersion of the body into a performance of protest which beckoned the spectator of protest to respond in ways which sustained or amplified the intensity of the atmosphere found.

5.1. The Perception of Space

According to Heelan (1989: 3-7), philosophies of perception fall under three main categories; in the first, the empiricist or analytical, to perceive is to be in possession of an image that matches or mirrors physical reality; in the second, the naturalistic, the movement of the perceiver "orders the environment, accommodating to it and finding their way around it"; and in the third, the phenomenological/ hermeneutic, "a perceived object makes itself present by acting physically on the body of the perceiver". The space, a historically white institution, in which protest emerged in 2015 had long been defined as one in which black students feel intense frustration and alienation (Koen et al.: 2006; Makobela: 2001; Matthews: 2015). In order to get a sense of how the participants of protest perceived the space in which protest emerged prior to wide spread student activism in historically white institutions, participants were asked "how was your undergrad?" to which they responded:-

> I found it inclusive and alienating at the same sense. Inclusive in the sense that… at the time, the social culture at Rhodes was… It did have that whole liberalness about it. And also alienating in the sense that you had to have a buy in into Rhodes culture in order to flourish and to feel the Rhodes culture- Swish
>
> It was tough. I don't want to lie. It was tough- Kendoll
>
> It was very frustrating- Jaune

These students possessed an image of the historically white institution space as tough, frustrating and alienating. Traditionally, space has been viewed, in terms of its geometric properties, as an Euclidean metric area that is linear and finite dimensional (Massumi: 2002), but Lefebvre (1984: 2) proposes that space entered the realm of multiple meanings as

> mathematicians appropriated space and time, made them part of their domain by inventing spaces- an 'indefinity' of spaces: non- Euclidean spaces, curved spaces, x-dimensional spaces (even spaces with an infinity of dimensions), spaces of configuration, abstract spaces, spaces defined by deformation, transformation, by a topology.

Following which, an image of space as producing and being produced by social structures and social action emerged (Low: 2008). In the former, social structures organise relations between bodies via the norms, rules and regulations, and the laws which are expected, imposed and apply to bodies inhibiting space (Cresswell: 1996). Moreover, deviation from the conventions of place is prohibited by codes which signify that deviance is 'out of place' (Cresswell: 1996).

Swish, a research participant, reveals that whereas he was able to avoid "not fitting in" by performing being 'in place', performing being 'in place' did not preclude him from feeling "out of place":

> Remember when I told you that when I got to Rhodes…? Rhodes was sorted a particular manner and I could navigate this space… but in doing so you kind of go through a pathology of shifting. There is nothing more tiresome than shifting who you are in order to fit into a particular space. To fit in this space I need to strip of my essence, my blackness. I need to strip off my blackness, my essence and perform a particular Rhodes body. And that was painful. It is very painful.

The participants' actualised place performance was an effect of his embodiment of the conventions of the place called Rhodes University. It was the only way he could accommodate to the space and find his way around it. In 2015, however, the repetition of the spatial order, for him and many others, was disrupted by the performance of protest which appeared as a transgression of space according to Van Gennep's (Turner: 1979) 'rites of passage' of separation and liminality playing out as

> a mode of embodied activity whose spatial, temporal and symbolic "awareness" allows for dominant" social norms to be superseded, questioned, played, transformed. A mode of embodied activity that transgresses, resists, or challenges social structures. (Mckenzie, 1997: 218)

Change between before and after is the break with a prior context which functions as a decontextualization which is separate from form and routine, but at the same time, is distinguishable as a form that suspends the norm, making way for new ways of being in place (Butler, 1997: 47; 148). The space in which protest emerged is ordinarily characterised by the formal academic programme of the university which made some bodies feel out of place, but the energy of the participants in carrying out protest performance not only disrupted the structural relations of that space, but created an atmosphere of protest.

5.1.1. The Atmosphere of Protest

It has been argued that protest action is a repertoire disgruntled individuals and groups use to communicate preferences and interests as claims or demands (McAdam: 1986; Polleta & Jasper: 2001; Tilly: 1978; Tarrow: 1993). The manner in which they do so varies and protest repertoires are both historically situated and spontaneous (Anisin: 2016; Flesher Fominaya: 2015; Georgsen & Thomassen: 2017). Although Tilly (1978) argues that protest has been significantly routinized through the expansion of civil society organizations and movements, when spoken of, spontaneity either refers to the behaviour of a group of actors in their subversion of the available and institutionalised dispute resolution mechanisms by engaging in informal protest, or on the other hand, spontaneity refers to and is contingent on factors beyond the scope of the interests and preferences of a group of actors. In their analysis of the 2012-2013 rape protests which occurred in parts of India, Chaudhuri & Fitzgerald (2015) privilege the lack of identifiable interest groups and decentralised decision-making as creating room for spontaneity in protest events. Similarly, Polletta (1998: 136-141) argued for spontaneity emerging in cases where there appears to be “a lack of bureaucratic planning” which in-turn produces radical action outside of the institutionalised norm. Whereas Sitrin (2009) has argued that on-the-go horizontal decision-making is a strategy in itself, the likes of Aelst & Walgrave (2001: 476- 480), Chandhuri & Fitzgerald (2015) and Rosenthal & Shcwartz (1989) view spontaneity as rare for it is only triggered under certain conditions.

To historically situate the re-emergence of protest at Rhodes University, the participants were asked whether there was a political culture prior to the emergence of protest in March 2015, to which some of the participants responded:-

> Um… no. not really. I don’t think… not that I was aware or involved. It didn’t feel like there was one- Amie.
>
> No. not at all. There was nothing… I don’t remember- Reggie.

> On campus?!? I wasn't politically active anywhere because I had decided that any alliance-related politics are not for me- Bo
>
> No, actually. I wasn't politically inclined to join Sasco or Daso [student organizations], but when I got here in terms of the political climate it was virtually non-existent even though the students have SRC elections and all of that- Somila

Somila, a research participant, mentions two student organizations and the students representatives' council (SRC) which, historically, have organized meetings and protests in South African institutions of higher education (Koen et al.: 2006). At the time of the re-emergence of protest, there was no national student union which represented student interests to the extent that NUSAS purportedly had in historically white institutions during Apartheid and none of the aforementioned student organizations initiated the protest action which the participants took part in.

In the absence of an organization of student interests, recent studies into the emotions of protest posit that certain events or situations, referred to as 'moral shocks', often raise a sense of outrage which is addressed via collective action (Jasper: 1998; Polletta & Jasper: 2001). At the time when research participants embarked on their first protest performance, it was widely reported that they did so in response to and under the influence of the actions of Chumani Maxwele, who threw faeces at the then statue of Cecil John Rhodes which was situated at the University of Cape Town (UCT) (Pett: 2015). The statue in question, however, had been subject to numerous acts of defacement prior to the events of March 2015 and those did not lead to wide-spread collective protest, thus a sense of outrage is not sufficient cause for collective protest action (Knoetze: 2014; Olson: 1971).

Moreover, resource mobilization scholars posit that prior to protest action, there must be the generation and adoption of an injustice frame;

> a misfortune must become conceived as an injustice or a social arrangement must become viewed as unjust and mutable. In each case, a status, pattern of relationships, or a social practice is reframed as inexcusable, immoral or unjust (Snow et al.: 1986: 466, 475).

At the time of the emergence of protest performance, there had been no political climate which would propel individuals to identify with the organization of student interests or sufficient outrage to bind individuals in a network of outrage, and as a result, the participants had no frame with which to "locate, perceive, identify and label" occurrences, events or situations as

justifying protest action prior to its occurrence (Goffman, 1974: 21). Instead, a significant number of research participants claimed that they had been drawn to attend some of the political activities[3] which occurred between 2015 to 2017 due to the atmosphere and vibe of the protest;

> Its… it's… the atmosphere is electrifying cause you are gravitating towards other people coming together… the singing, the dancing, the demands they are making. You gravitate towards the entertainment value of being involved in the protest. Cause you see the people are chanting and singing. It's interesting and it's lively -Hefe.
>
> I didn't even know the words of the songs initially, but I wanted to join in… it's like… The vibe. You can feel it. It's so fun- Asande.
>
> It's a lively atmosphere. So certain people gravitate towards that atmosphere- not necessarily they like what's being said, but they just like the atmosphere around the student protest-Bo.

To understand how one feels an atmosphere, there needs to be an enquiry into how that atmosphere is constituted through an image which gives a sense of being in that atmosphere (Brennan: 2004). This calls for a protest event analysis that "goes into the moment" to reveal "the lived immediacy of experience" offered by the atmosphere of protest (Pred, 2005: 11; Thrift, 2008: 16). In approaching the atmosphere of protest, consideration is given to the idea that "protest almost always assumes an audience, onlookers for whom the events are 'played out'" (Kershaw, 1997: 260). As such, Asande, a research participant, stated that she was initially a bystander to protest, watching the gathering of bodies and heard the tuning of protest songs and then subsequently joined protest. The interest is the encounter of the bystander body with the performance of protest which propels them to transcend from an observer to an actor in protest. Since protest is made up of singing and movement, it is what has been traditionally considered as a performance and hence it will now be imagined as protest performance.

5.2.Protest Performance

Performance is often contested for being an elusive term; for instance, "any event, action, item or behaviour can be examined 'as' performance" (Schechner, 1998: 361- 362). This entails both what has traditionally been thought to be performance, e.g. theatre, music, dance, art etc. which often is rehearsed for desired effect, that which is socialised through the repetition of

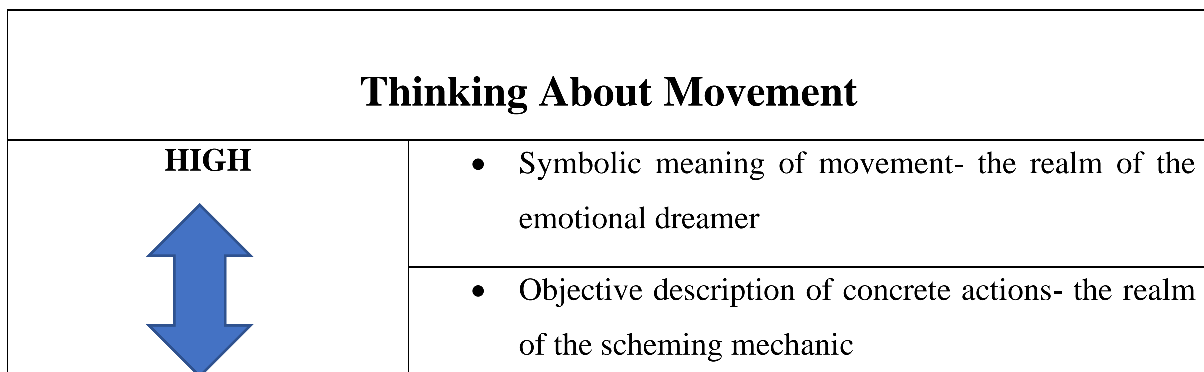
[3] Political activities can include, but are not limited to protest, marches, rallies, meetings, occupations etc. (Billei & Cabalin, 2013; Gill & DeFronzo, 2009; Gonzalez, 2008; Tan et al, 2014; Zhao, 1998).

norms and fear of sanctions, and "a wider range of human behaviours" which burst out of improvisation (Roach, 1995: 46). Since the early 1990s, performance has enjoyed a privileged status in the turn to embodiment prior to representation (Butler: 1997; Thrift, 2004, 2008). Judith Butler's work on 'performative behaviour' spearheaded an engagement with performance in

> places and situations not traditionally marked as the performing arts such as how people play gender, heightening their constructed identity, performing slightly or radically different selves in different situations (Schechner, 1998: 361- 362)

Performance involves relations, interaction and participation between two or more bodies that constitute the performance (Fischer-Litche, 2008: 32). Whereas some literature places emphasis on the physical co-presence of bodies, it is common for some bodies to be an imagined other, contributing to the overall performance in absentia (Goffman in Burns, 1992: 112). On the one hand, performance is the art of the present; a particular constellation of forces that are ephemeral and disperse as soon as the event is consummated (Martin, 1998: 188- 189; Thrift, 2008: 136). Performance is infamous for its ephemeral status for as the body transitions between postures, there is the creation of a passive present by the future present of the next posture which becomes the vanishing point of the just occurring posture (Siegal: 1972).

According to Laban (1974: 7), however, there is a ladder of abstraction which can be utilised to perceive movement; movement can be viewed as an ephemeral emergence of the now which is uncapturable, it can be viewed through the objective sequences it transitions through, and it can also be viewed in symbols and signs it emerges in and as creating signification in the world it leaves behind. The ladder of abstraction functions as a movement notation system enabling the possibility to read and extract meaning from movement (Moore & Yamamoto, 2012: 7; 78). Below is an illustration of Laban's ladder of abstraction taken from Moore and Yamamoto (2012):-



Thinking About Movement	
HIGH	• Symbolic meaning of movement- the realm of the emotional dreamer
	• Objective description of concrete actions- the realm of the scheming mechanic

LOW	• Ephemeral movement experience- realm of the biological innocent

Table 2: Laban's Ladder of Abstraction.

On the other hand, performance is liminal; it transgresses, disrupts, transforms, resists or challenges social structures in the duration of performance and long after its appearance (McKenzie, 1997: 218). The turn to embodiment latches on to performance as that which is liminal in emergence, but productive as it leaves traces in structures and beings (Rattray: 2016). Thus, the movement of the body is an event that is never consummated for it becomes how it is organising a particular constellation of forces within a specific space and time and this enables the signification of performative acts long after their immediacy (Dewsbury, 2000: 473).

In order to follow the immersion of body into performance, the performance is opened up via song. The effects of song, widely referred to as music, have been researched through experiments conducted in a controlled environment or through a musical anthropology of how people use music to construct their social reality. In the former, research participants who do not perform or create music have been asked to rate the arousal, valency and dominance of short video or audio clips through observation, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews (Christensen et al.: 2016; Sokhadze: 2007). Following which, it has been argued that through contagion, imagination and expectation, "music has the potential to induce collective affective phenomenon, such as behavioural, physiological and neural changes, in large groups of people" (Christensen et al.: 2016; Scherer, 2004: 247).

How do musical effects manifest outside of controlled quantitative research experiments? One of the contributors to the *Body and Society* Journal proposes that listening and noticing call for "a practical methodology where sound is subject, a vehicle and a medium for thinking" and to do so, *Sonic Bodies* encourages a "thinking through sound" instead of "thinking about sound" (Henriques, 2011: xvii- xviii). In the African Noise Foundation published documentary *Decolonising Wits* styled as 'Decolon I Sing: Wits', Kaganof (2015) captures a number of protest songs in duration and two will be sampled below to draw out the structure of protest song;

Caller: 'Senzeni Na?' (What have we done?)

Responders: 'Senzeni Na? Senzeni Na!?' (What have we done? What have we done?!) X4

Caller: 'Sono Sethu… (Our only sin…)

Responders: Sono Sethu Bubu'mnyama' (Our only sin is that we are black)

Caller: Aya'ncancazela (They are Trembling)

Responders: Aya'ncancazela (They are Trembling)

Caller: Aya'ncancazela (They are Trembling)

Responders: Aya'ncancazela (They are Trembling)

Both Callers and Responders: Aya'ncancazela Amabhunu/Amabhulu Ayebulale uChris Hani (The Boers who killed Chris Hani are Trembling).

Caller: Uthi' Masixole Kanjani? (How are we supposed to forgive/ be at peace?)

Responders: Uthi' Masixole Kanjani? (How are we supposed to be at peace?)

Both Callers and Responders: Uthi' Masixole Kanjani Amabhunu/Amabhulu Ayebulale uChris Hani (How are we supposed to forgive/ be at peace when the Boers killed Chris Hani?)

The above transcription illustrates the structure of protest song, and by extension its performance, is characterised by repetition. What is repeated makes it possible to compare and contrast the traction of some protest songs and not others, to evaluate the degree of intensity that carries the performance of protest song in one space and not another, to distinguish the tone used or rhythm built when particular songs are tuned and not others, and to follow schemas used to constitute the performance of protest etc. Whenever protest song is sung, it is at the discretion of its performer to select a particular chant and tempo, but most South African protest songs are short in length and have two main parts, that of a caller and that of responders (Kaganof: 2015; Mbuli: 1994; Ngema: 1992). The antiphony begins with a leading voice asking or stating something which the rest of the group repeats or confirms back to him or her (Kaganof: 2015; Mbuli: 1994; Ngema: 1992). Although protest song is structured by the antiphony, a number of those featured in the Lee Hirsch (2003) documentary *Amandla: A revolution in four part harmony* state that in duration, there is no universal order of protest song and the manner in which the crowd follows or unfollows the song being led is spontaneous. The caller may employ the schema of serenade, which entices the audience and invites it to participate in the potential of song. An invitation can be accepted or rejected in a number of ways; song might be ignored, song might be followed and the audience may reject

the initial caller by following a different caller which changes the song in duration. This is typical of 'songs of persuasion' which appeal to the listener and attracts them into their duration (Denisoff: 1966; Vail & White: 1978; Widdess: 2013).

According to participant reflections, upon hearing song there was a common 'feeling of the atmosphere or vibe' which propelled actors to gravitate towards the site where song was being performed. Theories of emotion would suggest that a state of knowing, such as feeling, illustrates an emotions schemata for it is only when the subject becomes aware of itself does it produce "human actuality" which is personal and biographical (Damasio in Wetherell, 2012: 35). Moreover, the process of event evaluation, through which the feeling or sensation becomes perceived, has to be checked against previous experiences and represented as the said state of knowing (Scherer, 2004: 244; Shouse: 2005: 1). Indeed, a relation of feeling speaks to how the dynamics of an event are felt and it is a perception of the atmosphere or vibe of protest (Massumi: 2002; Phillips-Silver & Trainor: 2005). What delineates feeling as an emotion, however, is when it is appraised. That is, the feeling only becomes subjective after the fact of its actualisation.

At the time of emergence, in its liminal-becoming, the feeling is not only viscerally sensed, but it opens the body to variation in its capacity or power to act and change in any direction, which is the manifestation of affect (Georgsen & Thomassen: 2017; Lobo: 2013; Massumi: 2002). The body which varies in power or capacity to act implicates an event of the somatic nervous system (motor expression in the face and body) (Massumi: 20002; Scherer: 2004). The somatic nervous system receives and relays information through exteroceptors, interoceptors & proprioceptors (Moore and Yamamoto, 2012: 13). The first, exteroceptors, receive information via the five senses of vision, hearing, smell, touch, and taste; which is passed on to the second, interoceptors to accept, ignore or modify by the third, proprioceptors, which orientate the response to be carried out as motor activity (Moore and Yamamoto, 2012: 13-14).

In those who transcend from a spectator of the performance to an actor in the performance, the imperceptible rhythm of song is received by distant senses of hearing and oftentimes vision, which is then resolved in ways that increase the body's capacity to act. The resolution of imperceptible forces and intensities can show forth as

> …automatic reactions, non-conscious, never to be conscious remainders, outside of expectation and adaptation, as disconnected from meaningful sequencing, from narration. [They are] narratively de-localized, spreading over the generalized body surface (Massumi, 1995: 85).

The body displays and embodies a rhythm in the duration of song through which the face nods, smiles, frowns, sighs, manoeuvres the tongue to whistle, ululates, looks up and down, expresses joy and sadness, etc (Kaganof: 2015). The intensity moves down the body; starting with the placement of arms in an infinity cross underneath the breasts with the thumbs touching the flesh inside the elbow bend and the four fingers resting on the lower part of the upper arm, to the opening of the bind, drawing in the elbows towards the abdomen, bringing in the hands to momentarily clap in front of the body or the reaching of the hands overhead initiating or following synchronised clapping (Ibid.). Once overhead, the formation of fists by the hands swaying back and forth, the shifting of the body weight from the left side to the right side parallel to the fists above or the hands clapping and fingers rhythmically snapping (Ibid.). There is often the lowering of the upper body to give the lower body ease to waddle back and forth or to rhythmically stomp the feet in one place, followed by the lifting of the feet to a 90 degree angle to fire out knee kicks, full body jumps, and the take-off from one space to the next (Ibid.). A movement through which the participants march in formation while being used by the song and in turn using the song to communicate to one another. If song is losing momentum, it is common for a participant to bolt to the front of the crowd or to the middle of the circle if the crowd is in a semi-circle or circle to lead a new song and to motion the crowd to sing their parts back to them (Ibid.).

5.3. Conclusion

Whereas the operation of power in society can be observed in the collective embodiment of the ideologies which keep bodies in place, the liminal and performative emergence of movement of the body creates difference in space through relations of encounter which transgress the ordering of bodies by breaking with the structure of the previous context and norms of place. The movement of the body, in the atmosphere of protest, is an event through which the body rejects the previously held image of being in space by adopting, through embodiment, a new movement image of becoming in place. Becoming protest performer is a somatic event whereupon the rhythm of song triggers a relation of feeling which is resolved by the extension of the body and is imagined, in this chapter, as one of the primary means through which bodies are recruited into participation in activism. Thus, protest performance is in response to being affected by the atmosphere in ways which implicate sensation and movement as an effect of the encounter with socially constructed space.

6. Somatic Communication

Whereas song can generate a vocabulary with which to perceive a situation or issue by re-distributing cultural images, in this chapter there is the development of the idea that coherence amongst an emerging group of political actors proceeds by way of somatic dialogue manifesting as active and passive gestures and postures between bodies. In choreographies of protest, kinaesthetic intelligence is privileged for giving spontaneous movement form which sustains and amplifies the intensity of protest as the body receives and conveys rhythmic properties. For those in somatic dialogue, there is an investment into unity as creating difference in spatial relations as somatic communication motivates norms of reciprocity amongst a collective body of protest performers who establish affinity based on contact and connection.

6.1. The Meaning of Song

Music has been studied as a form of communication, with the potential to convey messages and spread information which traverses social, psychological and spatial distances (Steeger: 1987). Music can be a powerful platform in which public opinion is influenced as the words in song create and amplify a state of feeling which creates personal and subjective resonance (Gilman: 2009; Hobson: 2008). At the very same time, song lyrics might be satirical, metaphorical and they may even express ambiguous meanings (Gilman: 2009). In *Plantation Protest: The History of Mozambican Song*, Vail & White (1978: 6; 8) provide an interpretation of plantation song "Paiva" which was initially sang by workers jeering their plantation landlord "whose speech and walk would be imitated into a dance", and the song has posthumously survived him to symbolise "the inequalities brought to the area by the monopolist company system and a satire on the disproportion between wages and profit". Despite the shift in usage over a 50 year period, Vail and White (1978) make the observation that in duration, Paiva was often presented with a certain buoyancy whilst narrating pain and suffering.

To answer how individuals resonate with ambiguous and metaphorical messages, it has been suggested that "words presented in a fluent language produce greater affective responses than words spoken in a second language" and therefore, metaphors and ambiguities are automatically resolved by those who speak the language, in which the song is presented,

fluently as they are able to situate intent (Duncan & Barrett, 2007: 1199; Seyfert: 2012). This is to imply that the messages conveyed by song are not ambiguous, but phonemic as they convey meaning to the 'we' included whereas the satire excludes a 'they' which is attributed with another set of signifiers. Song becomes a way of entering an internal-external dialectic of identification according to categories of signification such as "we" and "they" (Jenkins: 1996 in Clark, 2006: 500). Firstly, with every repetition of song, there is re-distribution of cultural images which etch out ideas of being and belonging, having empowering and disempowering consequences for those included and excluded, respectively. Secondly, the ideas expressed through song generate a vocabulary with which to perceive a situation or issue and oftentimes suggest actions which could address a situation or issue.

In the alternative, Bo, a research participant, infers that the literal meaning of a protest song is not the pull factor to participate in protest performance as he understood the vernacular in which the songs were presented, but in the moment of protest performance he did not use that meaning of the songs of protest to interpret and reconstruct his lived experience. The type of resonance created by the distribution of cultural images via song, covert and overt, has often perplexed music commentators who have long observed that the biggest consumers of Hip Hop music, which conveys information on and messages about growing up in state housing projects, the distribution of illicit drugs, being in and out of state penitentiary institutions and racialised police brutality, happen to be white and middle class (Gilbert: 2004). A phonetic analysis, aimed at developing a comparative understanding of the meaning making which takes place as a result of song becomes complicated by the fact that the manner in which song is accepted or rejected by listeners, and by extension performers, of song is complex and suggests that resonation goes beyond an understanding of lyrical content (Angrosino, 2007: 68).

As football has become a ubiquitous form of entertainment, which brings people together in their support of and participation in local, regional and international tournaments and leagues, there is a growing interest in the ebbs and flow of movement during a football match. Whereas Massumi (2002) drew out the ways in which the ball organizes movement both on and off the pitch, others have narrowed in on supporter cultures (Armstrong & Young: 1999; Clark : 2006; Giulianotti: 2013; Pearson: 2012). In what the latter view as the production and reproduction of symbolic power, it has been argued that the world of chanting fans pitches [us] into a world

> …filled with passion and love, with parallel and co-existing hatreds, with the crucial aspects of a narrow and ferociously demonstrated cultural identity, with a commitment

> to events that at other times and in other circumstances would be laughable and ridiculous (Armstrong & Young, 1999: 173).

Chants, for and against certain actors and actions, provide the background music to a series of movements through which "those who would ordinarily be subdued and suppressed use their body to signify a status or position" (Armstrong & Young, 1999: 176). In initiating movement or going with the flow of movement, football fanatics are able to have an alternative conversation to the one ascribed on their bodies e.g. they can show disapproval for decisions made by their teams' executive managers in ways that they are ordinarily, outside of the pitch, not privy to due to societal structures which denigrate the opinions of so-called 'chavs' (Armstrong & Young: 1999). As a chant or song cannot perform the function of being a status nullifier outside of the stadium or during off-season times, the liminal space-time is not created by heckling, but rather chant or song creates an opening for participants to become "other" in its duration.

In turning to performance and embodiment, the interest is in thinking through difference or that which enables an instance of protest performance to entail much more than the objective structure of song as many people may hear song, but not follow or join in its duration. This may be due to lexical differences or lexical indifference, but human perceptual systems tune out sensory information regularly that even upon hearing song, it may be ignored until it fades to the background (Moore & Yamamoto: 2012). In what follows there will be an exploration of the becoming of bodies in the context of protest performance through the development of the concept of somatic communication, a relation of encounter between bodies, in choreographies of protest.

6.2. Choreographies of Protest

The term choreography is a portmanteau of the words dance (choreo) and writing (graphy) and it implies that movement is a "form of articulation" which is representative of much more than an ephemeral dance piece or form (Parvianen, 2010: 315). For Hewitt (2005) and McCormack (2003), choreography is not limited to rehearsed dance forms, but can be applied to "all events in which movements appear as meaningful interactions and relations between agents". In building a choreography of protest, consideration is given to the questions provided in the article 'Choreographies of Protest' such as:-

> …what are these bodies doing?; what and how their motions signify?; what choreography, whether spontaneous or pre-determined, do they enact?; what kind of significance and impact does the collection of bodies make in the midst of its social

surround?; how does the choreography theorize corporeal, individual and social identity?; what kinds of relationship do they establish with those who are watching their actions? (Foster, 2003: 397)

Observation: **Somatic Communication at a Student Body Meeting**[4]

> As autumn winds gathered what remained of the day with dusk approaching, some students began to walk to Eden Groove to attend the student body meeting called by the SRC to discuss issues of transformation and the name Rhodes University. Although the meeting was set for 7:30 pm, the procession to the venue started earlier with numerous individuals engaged in animated conversations outside the venue seating or standing in groups of 2, 3, 5 or more. For some time, I stood at the bottom right entrance, scanning the room, looking for a seat. There were many seated students who had arrived earlier; some had their bags and jackets placed in seats near them holding the space for their friends yet to make their way in. By the time I entered, the only spaces vacant were the stairs which divide the lecture venue into three sections. All around the room were frequencies and melodies of protest song. I made my way to the stairways which divide the bottom half of the room. I remember looking around thinking "this is a lot of people". Whenever there's a seminar, a human rights talk, a book launch at Rhodes… around 60 people show up. But this particular event had attracted way more, overcrowding the venue which ordinarily can hold around 350 people. As I perched myself on the stairs, more students were arriving, but they couldn't enter the venue. On each entry/exit door, there were about 20 students standing, trying to peek into the venue. The people inside were either having conversations amongst themselves or participating in the tuning of protest song via rhythmic clapping, swaying of arms or stomping of feet.

Outside the venue, by the doorway, or while giving the room a 360 scan, what was observed was the coming together of bodies. The transcendence from standing outside to seating inside is a reading-in of the room and what follows signals the start of contact improvisation with the space and the bodies held within. In the room, there was a territorialisation of "intimate personal spaces" with bodies or belongings to communicate to other bodies the physical boundaries of the room (Urmston & Hewison, 2014: 219). Listening and noticing the physical boundaries of the room helps an individual deliberate their point of entry; oftentimes students would test the physical boundaries of the room by employing the dance technique of "reaching" through which they would wave, high-five, fist pump, dab or clench their fist and raise it above their head while maintaining eye contact with someone they know (Rosch: 2018). The reciprocation or acknowledgement of their reaching hand gestures establishes contact and

[4] See Appendix A for full observation.

connection with other bodies already there. A body already there may catch the eye of an entering body, motion for it to come closer to it and remove their belongings from the intimate personal space they have just created, to signal that the seat was reserved for it. Once the body reaches the seat reserved for it, it may reach out to hug the body which was already there, in gratitude for holding the space for it or express sheer joy at seeing a familiar face with a head tilt and a soft chuckle in its embodiment of a smile. Two bodies may simply acknowledge each other, without touch, through a synchronic nod and moving their bodies in closer proximity via the placement of their chairs

Relations of encounter are premised on somatic dialogue between actors. According to the contact improvisation view, somatic dialogue is contingent on the physical proximity of bodies for sensory receptors to relay the information received from "the outside" to motor reflexes (Goldman: 2007; Stahmer: 2011). Contact improvisation emerged in the early 1970s as an avant garde dance style by a collective of young artists who participated in social 'contact jams' and in the contemporary it is widely taught to and practiced by drama students as a "supplement to technical training and choreography" (Albright: 1997; Novack: 1990; Stahmer, 2011: 21). Contact improvisation is a form of social choreography which is separate from form, but gathers its nature in displaying synesthetic and proprioceptive movement, that is, the kinaesthetic intelligence of sense and coordination in response to and in communication with another body (Goldman: 2007; Parviainen: 2010). At the very same time, the bodily sensory system is comprised of "distant senses" such as vision, hearing and smell, which do not require physical touch to transmit information between bodies (Arnheim, 1969: 17). Affective contagion studies point to the workings of pheromones, which when released by one body change the behaviour of another as an illustration of neuro mirroring in response to another (Brennan: 2004; Dewsbury: 2000; Moore & Yamamoto: 2012). Thus, even in absence of physical touch, participants in protest can communicate on a kinaesthetic level in response to the presence of another actor or to the idea of another actor as bodies of the crowd become entrained together, influenced by the actions of other bodies in the crowd into unconscious and automatic mirroring (Brennan: 2004; Foster: 2003; Hirsch: 2002; Parviainen: 2010; Stern: 2004; Wetherell: 2012). Whether based on contact or connection, in somatic communication, the body assumes a passive and active role, listening and receiving the frequencies of other bodies through multiple sensory orientating systems and responding to them or initiating movement which is then listened and received by other bodies (Albright: 1997; Henriques: 2011; Stahmer: 2011).

6.3. Kinaesthetic Intelligence

Protest performance and choreographies of protest are instances when the body receives and conveys rhythmic properties. Participants initially observed and then attended to the atmosphere through movement in their improvisation of a shared point of contact, such as rubbing their elbow with one hand while the other is drawn to their chest when standing which is improvised via the clapping of hands in formation with the collective body. Participants often stated that they were not aware of the complexity of their movements, but rather were 'going with the flow' during an uncertain and ambiguous moment. The lack of divergence from the atmosphere found, referred to as 'going to with the flow', becomes interesting because although the movement was spontaneous and improvised, it either sustained or amplified the intensity of the atmosphere or vibe which was initially encountered. According to those who study human kinaesthetic, spontaneous movement has form because in its emergence, bodies evaluate exteroceptors and interoceptors, make necessary proprioceptive adjustments and relay responses which appear as coordinated motor activity (Gardner, 1983 in Parviainen: 2010). The movement of the body is not only the escape of imperceptible forces and intensities from the body, it illustrates a decision made in that uncertain and ambiguous moment in which the body was initially overwhelmed by the feeling or vibe of protest.

Interactive communication between newly formed acquaintances, who share a participation connection in the exchange of contact, gestures and postures, establishes weak ties of reciprocity and social recognition (Granovetter, 1973: 1364- 1367). This is, in part, due to the manner in which gestures and bodily postures, such as reaching, eye contact, synchronic nods and at times, laughter, draw bystanders into a choreography of protest as they accept, reject or improvise gestures and bodily postures which unfold. Any type of response signals a bodily investment or disinvestment to the somatic dialogue between two or more bodies which is then developed through the repetition of exchanges of contact and connection.

Whereas Thrift (2008) proposes that there is a certain identity in entrainment to a common mood, Polletta & Jasper (2001) advance that collective identity might be based on the connections one has to members of a group. Once somatic dialogue has been developed through subsequent performative acts in choreographies of protest, it has been attributed with fostering the imagination of an alternative reality, referred to as utopia, to the 'world out there' (Kershaw: 1997; Moore & Yamamoto: 2012). This has played out in the displacement of space via the

expression of unity as difference in human shields, die-ins, and occupations. What can be gathered is the coming together of bodies is productive for it obliges, due to norms of reciprocity and social recognition, individuals to protest along with or on behalf of bodies it identifies with. Individuals in protest become invested in the contact and connections which bind them and the somatic dialogue between actors does develop as a preferred affinity of interest for the actors of protest performance.

Earlier literature on activism failed to account for the emergence of spontaneously organised relations between bodies. It merely argued that when it was there, it organised collective minds in the instances of haphazard decision-making and strategy, but as it plays out in choreographies of protest it signals a kinaesthetic intelligence which is not only a sense of movement, but orientates the movement forms which sustain or amplify the intensity of protest. The immersion of bodies in protest performance is self-referential as the participants did not join protest due to an adherence to the structure of song, an "intense identification with the values of an organization" or the "pre-existing organization of preference structures" which has been said to "dispose an individual towards participation" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1236; McAdam, 1986: 64; Oberschall: 1973). In a choreography of protest such as protest performance, unity of movement bypasses socio-linguistic schema in recruiting individuals to activism and such recruitment occurs as a response to and a product of the communication between bodies.

6.4. Conclusion

It could be said that in hearing song first, bodies are recruited via their resonance with the lyrical content of song, but participants reflected on a somatic event which is felt by its rhythm and flow and not the invitation afforded by the structure of the lyrical antiphony. Instead of adhering to the ideas expressed through song, much of the duration of protest performance is the experience of intensity which makes the participants go with the flow of movement and it is going with the flow of movement which organises relations between bodies. Protest as a performance which appears and disappears in choreographies of protest has been imagined as an event which gathers its nature in duration as the body evaluates, makes necessary adjustments and relays responses which illustrate form and coordination from spontaneous movements. What differentiates the theory of affect from present theories of collective action

is that activism functions differently; firstly the potential to become a protestor in an already occurring protest is characterised by resolution of the feelings induced by song through becoming immersed in the rhythm of song. Song merely creates an opening which is then addressed by other sensory systems in order for the body to become in its actualisation as a protest performer. Secondly, it is the reception and reciprocation of the somatic event which reveals a type of recruitment to activism which is prior to the socio-linguistic organization of preferences and interests as these have not been framed yet.

7. The Signification of Movement

Motivated by the understanding that perception is an ontology of images, this chapter concerns itself with movement image vis-à-vis memory image in the situating, interpretation and construction of movement through framing schema. Using the example of non-cooperation and subsequent generation of an injustice frame by an affinity group displaying ideal behaviour as a rebuttal to bodies which disrupt the somatic dialogue between bodies established in choreographies of protest such as protest performance, this chapter continues to make an argument for the primacy of movement by illustrating how it is given linguistic form after the fact of its occurrence. Memory images, as a form of structured movements, may become actual in duration, but it is most probable that spontaneous movement will be qualified, in effect, to signify movement via a discursive articulation of the encounter.

7.1.Memory Image

In Bergson's (2002) *Matter and Memory*, the corpus of perception is an ontology of images such as an image of space- time, movement image and in what follows consideration will turn to memory image etc. As movement image comes into being due to bodily memory orientating the nervous system, it follows that a focus on what the body does should be informed by images of what the body has done. Thus, an emerging instance of protest performance is often linked to an image of other bodies becoming protestor in previous protest events as the just occurring protest becomes represented as part of a historical pattern through the employment of a frame (Fischer-Litche: 2008; Jolaosho: 2013; Hughes: 2007). This makes it possible to compare and contrast the just occurring movement image [its particularity] to the memory image of its generality. A frame is a schemata of interpretation participants use to "simplify and condense the world" (Kubal: 1998; Mooney & Hunt: 1996; Snow & Benford: 1992: 137; Swart: 1995). Most political actors are said to borrow a combination of master frames which serve as the blueprint on how to articulate preferences and interests as they contain a variety of strategies which have been used by other aggrieved groups who have made claims in the public sphere (Tarrow: 1993). In their application, frames can amplify a grievance, "distinguish 'us' and 'them' from opponents and bystanders" and corral adherents and constituents towards collective action (Polletta & Jasper, 2001: 291). They do this by diagnosing an issue or situation

as justifying a particular response, imputing blame and illustrating causality, encouraging certain strategies and tactics, and developing compelling reasons for action (Snow and Benford, 1992: 137).

When the body is in motion "movements are recalled not only as discrete actions, but as sequences of action that have progressed through time" (Moore & Yamamoto, 2012: 27). The ways in which memory image structures space can be understood via the Moulard-Leonard (2008) interpretation of Bergson and Deleuze which proposes that memory is the preservation of the past in the present. Since it has been argued that it is through memory images that relations of encounter become shaped and it would follow then that the ability of the body to listen to other bodies and respond to them in ways that continue somatic dialogue is premised on a prior exposure to cultural images which delineate the conventions of contact (Ahmed: 2004; Gunner: 2008). Thus, there is the continuity of past conventions in performing being 'in place' as performance of the just emerging resemble, interpret, and legitimate the conventions of the past.

Memory images insert themselves in the duration of spontaneous movements to not only ensure that certain affects stick to certain bodies, but in situating bodily responses (Ahmed: 2004; Wetherell: 2012). Following the memory image of the body in protest would suggest that the body's capacity to hear the rhythm of song is correlated to cultural and learning processes which give meaning to an event of protest. In describing movement on dancehall nights in Kingston, Jamaica, Henriques (2011: 6; 21) argues that

> …a session does not consist of only the physical bodies that make up a crowd, but further in the knowledge, understanding, appreciation, sensitivity and expectations that they bring with them. It is within the sociocultural waveband that Dancehall culture has meaning and significance for its participants

Memory image functions like a structural image of place; ordering relations according to their historical pattern as antecedent ways of moving, for instance, on the dancefloor insert themselves in the duration of dancehall to inform the sequence of actions which signify an appropriate dance move, lingo and modes of dress (Henriques: 2011).

7.2. Movement Image

Whereas memory, as a structured form of movement, is important in locating the nature, significance and implications of a somatic event, it does so after the fact of movement- in the efforts to understand and ground affect through a socio-linguistic investment in the universes

of discourse which are available. In the performance of conventions of contact or the antecedent ways of moving in space, space is also relational as “people are positioned by the actions of others” (Low, 2008: 35). In what follows there is consideration of the contact and connection directing the flow of movement and then subsequently the application of memory images to signify the movement into a discursive articulation of the encounter.

On ‘somatic communication’, there has been the argument that contact and connections become a preferred protest affinity and in the face of attempts to separate protestors, many resist removal from an occupied space by law enforcement officers by employing the release technique of “going limp” (Goldman: 2007). During the technique of going limp, the protest participant refuses to give in and instead “relaxes the body in a kind of physical non-cooperation with the situation so that he or she has to be dragged or carried to wherever authorities want him” (Oppenheimer & Lakey, 1954: 107). Non-cooperation is an act, in response to the reach and physical contact of law enforcement officers, through which protest performers are both active and passive as they negotiate *how* they will enter into communication with other bodies. In acts of resistance, whereas the two bodies remain in contact, there is a self-preservation which refuses to be ‘out of place’ again in performing an act of resistance to being in accordance with the pre-performance conventions of place which are being ordered by the intervention of the law enforcement officer.

Following the performance of non-cooperation, there is often mass information dispersal as the protest performance is narrated by various individuals in passing, in pre-existing networks such as friendship groups, shared on-line, in newspaper articles and becomes a primetime television news feature. Resource mobilization theories have long acknowledged the role of the media in turning student demands into issues of public discussion and oftentimes, this is done through the circulation of an image which captures an act of resistance, such as non-cooperation, and communicates it to a wider audience than the bodies who were physically present in protest (Kershaw: 1997; St John: 2008). As the power of an image lies in developing content for the contraction or expansion of consciousness (Deleuze & Guattari: 1987), in the circulation and reproduction of an image of non-cooperation, discourses are invoked to connect the just occurring with an image of other bodies becoming protestor in previous protest events. A research participant, Bo, posits that there emerged an importance of reading, in order to make sense of the relations of encounter which emerged during protest performance;

> …out of that came the importance of reading. Reading up about.. People started picking up Fanon at the time.

In the instance of the non-cooperation relation of encounter, the circulation of its image by oral traditions and the media is brought together with a schema with which to perceive the exchange between "go limpers" and law enforcement officers. There was a recurrent claim by research participants to the effect that "university management permitted police officers on university grounds to silence us". The communication style employed in this reflection not only signals the construction of an injustice frame which imputes blame to a "they" whereas it constructs a "we" as victims of silencing, it is designed to bring together adherents and constituents who identify with the language used to delineate the "we" or who want to be included in the 'we" (Polleta & Jasper: 2001; Snow et al.: 1986; Zuo & Benford: 1995). The language, itself, is a performance which is designed to make the content of the frame recognisable and familiar as it capitalises on the historical potency of the circulation and redistribution of memory images and the repertoire of discursive interpretations available (Gamson: 1992; Kubal: 1998; Swart: 1995).

Further interruptions to protest performance enter the geographies of inclusion and exclusion which internalise and externalise certain actions within the parameters of "we" and "they". During protest performance, it was common cause that a bystander would ask why the participants have gathered, and then provide compelling reasons for the participants to utilise other means of communication besides protest performance. Often without prior deliberation, the protest performers, in unison, would sing over and employ gestures, such as the quick flick of the wrist away from the collective body pointing the officious bystander to a far-away distance (Kaganof: 2015). The bystander deposition functions as a divergence from the ideal behaviours embodied and shared by the collective body displaying internal contact and connection and exerting acts of resistance to external bodies. As a rebuttal to bystander depositions, some bystanders became signified as "not being woke" whereas the collective body in protest performance is "woke" through spacing. Spacing is:

> The positioning of social goods and primarily symbolic markings in order to render ensembles of goods and people recognised as such. Secondly, the constitution of space requires synthesis, that is to say, goods and people are connected to form through processes of perception, ideation and recall (Low, 2008: 35).

'Being woke' is a term which grew in popularity from its usage in the American #BlackLivesMatter and according to Ashlee et al. (2017: 90-91), becoming woke is defined as "articulating the system's existence, informed by the experience of those occupying the margins, the narratives of the outsiders who are inside and a form of survival". The phrase is

commonly used on social media platforms as a presentation of the political self which functions as a social currency in its recognition or rejection by other actors (Kubal: 1998). According to Amie, a research participant, the frame alignment of being woke within the categories of "they" and "we" signified that certain bodies were not welcomed;

> It sort of becomes… an echo chamber… I found that if you don't talk the talk, you're not really welcomed- Amie

From this reflection, it could be inferred that space occupied by woke people cannot be inhibited by people who are not woke as those who are not woke become viewed as 'out of place' in protest performance. The collective identity of woke people is both a style of protest and a strategy of protest (Polletta & Jasper: 2001). In activism literature, there is the notion that individuals become activists as a result of being in a network that seeks to recognise and legitimate pre-existing identities, but a network can emerge amongst a group of individuals who display "ideal behaviour" in how they enter into communication with 'othered' bodies, and in their construction of 'othered' bodies (Angrosino: 2012; Jasper: 1998; McAdam: 1986).

Speech acts not only illustrate the way othered bodies are perceived, but mediate the investment made in the somatic dialogue between bodies by privileging certain attitudinal dispositions as desirable. In so doing, speech acts create an affinity network, often referred to as "a small cluster of like-minded protestors", who are entrusted with making decisions, devising strategies and articulating the interests and preferences of the movement to outsiders (Foster, 2003: 403). An affinity network is comprised of networks of solidarity and reciprocity which have already been recruited into activism via choreographies of protest, who have a recent intense history of engagement in somatic dialogues during protest performance, and it is in spacing that the fact of their existence becomes legitimated through a repertoire of interpretations utilising the available discourses.

Although in "How to do things with words", and "Affective Economies", both Austin (1962) and Ahmed (2004) respectively argue speech acts mobilise bodies, in this instance of the generation of an injustice frame and the formation of a network of like-minded individuals, speech acts emerge after the movement of bodies and their function is to organize movement into codes which define the parameters of being and belonging. In the organization of codes, there is then the spread of information and influence which can be attributed for the subsequent transformation in the perception of movement in space and memory images (Granovetter: 1973). An evaluation of how protestors enter into communication with othered bodies and their

linguistic construction of othered bodies illustrates that collective identity is contingent on its recognition or repudiation by both bystanders and actors in protest for ideal behaviour is agreed upon in response to the bystander deposition (Melucci: 1995). Moreover, the response to the othered bodies signals that, for the participants, being in physical proximity is a preferred interest as the construction of othered bodies as not being woke is an attempt to latch on to the intensity of protest which has just been interrupted.

With networks and collective identity emerging after the fact of movement in physical space, there is reason to believe that body-to-body interactions are the glue which holds protest performers together, for once stasis has been brought to movement via othered bodies or schemas of representation, the somatic dialogue depreciates and eventually comes to an end and with its departure the vibes and atmospheres of protest disappear. In sum, the becoming actual of potential is prior to being as through signification, spontaneous movement is filtered into categories of ideal and not being ideal behaviours of wokeness. However, the abstraction of ideal behaviour from initially spontaneous movement represses the proliferation of multiplicities and it returns creativity of movement forms back to the structure they escaped from.

7.3. Conclusion

When the body in motion is positioned as a sign of agency in relation to the imposition of structure in norms, rules and regulations and laws about 'being in place', it becomes clear that the movement under consideration is not just any movement; it is the type of movement that breaks away from structure by becoming liminal and performative. There is a break with the previous context of monotonous repetition, which characterises striated space, by the creativity of movement. The difference before and after in space-time images is accomplished as the structure responds, or accommodates to the change created by the emergence of performative and liminal movement-images. Space is then imagined as an effect of the relation between disorder and structure; a social space which is imagined through enacted and articulated discourses about the movement of bodies.

In any encounter, there is a somatic communication between bodies through which bodies listen and receive the frequencies of other bodies, make sense and then subsequently follow through with movement, or bodies initiate movement which is then sensed, listened to and received by other bodies. Once established, through repeated somatic dialogue, contact and

connection can become a preferred protest affinity which protest performers seek to sustain, which when interrupted, leads protest performers to generate an evaluation of the bodies speaking a different language than the one just constituted in the categories of signification which include and exclude certain bodies. Thus, a frame of resonance and a network of collective actors emerge to signify a prior somatic communication which differentiated bodies in the duration of protest performance.

Whereas movement will always be ontologically prior to schemas of representation as representation is resorted to capture duration, the articulation of that opening in space-time is the notation of difference. It is, above all else, the only way in which what has since disappeared back into striated space can become known and thus, when performance disappears, it can be made relevant by the language which articulates the encounter. Moreover, it is not merely a convention of the times that becomings are captured and codified, it is to interpret, interrogate and negotiate beings. The two are in a reciprocal relationship, which when expressed in the dualism of thought that is post-structuralism, blurs the lines as to who the audience and the performer are in the quality and intensity of an experience. In the actualization of potential, there is the expansion of consciousness from which beings derive a vocabulary with which to articulate their beingness. The relationship between movement of intensity and the qualification of intensity doesn’t have to be in opposition to each other as the Massumian reading of Deleuze suggests, but could be viewed as mutually beneficial for the turn to linguistic schemata to make sense of the emergence of movement implies that the fact of movement has created a gap in signification.

8. Conclusion

To begin with, viewing instances of protest as performance has been informed by participants, who claimed, on numerous occasions that they found protest entertaining and this was interesting as a majority of accounts on student activism begin with anger and discontent about a grievance, the articulation of that grievance and the aggression which springs out from a desire to legitimate that initial grievance (Parviainen: 2010). This is not to say that protest performers did not have grievances or to downplay the importance of grievances in moving bodies, but many research participants resonated with grievances that emerged during the protest cycle and for them, it was easier to realise grievances during protest than prior to protest. Although, their initial recruitment occurred haphazardly, their investment in choreographies of protest became an opening through which they could realise grievances. In utilising Laban's (1971) ladder of abstraction, it becomes possible to isolate movement in response to the politics of performance which argue that the appearance of performance is also its disappearance and the observations of protest performance and the choreographies of protest are selected over others because those actions were repeated on numerous occasions, and thus their selection is to say, they are typical of the phenomenon studied.

The ontological shift in the approach to phenomena, which is based on the revival of the philosophy of difference and repetition, is deemed valid, but Massumi's complex relationship with psychoanalysis made Thrift's epistemological orientation more practical, as the application of the autonomy of affect was found to be difficult at best and impossible at worst. In this improvisation of the theory of affect, the application chosen reflects a theory of becoming which assembles practices and performances. Through performance and liminal transgressions, there was the creation of difference - difference in space, difference in how actors perceive themselves and are perceived by others. The velocity of this complex process of becoming actual, of movement from potential, has led many to view it as automatic and non-conscious and for this thesis, it is admired for organising relations between bodies from what, ostensibly, is spontaneous movement and thus creating order from disorder.

In response to a historiography that views protest performers as agitated irrational individuals who are under the influence of framing schemata, this thesis has made claims about how bodies enter into conversation with other bodies in passive and active becomings, movements, gestures and postures away from theories of an irrational crowd which subverts the available

dispute resolution mechanisms. It could then be argued that the spontaneity of protest repertoires do not stem from an impetus to subvert the available and institutionalised dispute resolution mechanisms, but it is a product of the negotiation of affect which is resolved in the duration of song before and beyond the intentions of actors.

This thesis is of the opinion that movement of the body is a somatic event of perception and only in the coding of that perception into a vocabulary which employs categories of signification, which include some bodies and exclude others, does a frame of resonance emerge. The frame is performative in giving a sense of being and belonging to those it includes, while othering those it excludes. Somatic dialogue is imagined as the glue holding participants together through norms of reciprocity, such as the exchange of gestures and postures, which bodies invest in through the creation of difference as unity. All three of the preceding chapters are carried by one central theme grounding Massumi's (2002) *Parables of The Virtual*; there is a sensation, movement and the formation of perception.

8.1.Findings

To answer the research question… 'what can be said about the role of affect in the re-emergence of student activism in the historically white institution named Rhodes University in South Africa?'

- It could be said that recruitment to activism can be about going with the rhythm of song and flow of movement during an uncertain and ambiguous moment.
- In response to earlier accounts about a group of political actors being held together as a network of outrage, individuals in protest become invested in the contact and connections which bind them and the intensity of the somatic dialogue between actors becomes a preferred protest affinity for the actors in protest performance.
- Categories of signification emerge to delineate othered bodies and as a rebuttal to othered bodies after the fact of movement in choreographies of protest performance such as an occupation
- Connections and contact are the glue that holds a group of actors together for once stasis has been brought to movement via reversion to structural order or schemas of representation, the somatic dialogue depreciates and eventually comes to an end and with its departure the vibes and atmospheres of protest disappear.

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Appendix A: Observation from Student Body Meeting

Thursday 19 March 2015

As autumn winds gathered what remained of the day with dusk approaching, some students began to walk to Eden Groove to attend the student body meeting called by the SRC to discuss issues of transformation and the name Rhodes University. Although the meeting was set for 7:30 pm, the procession to the venue started earlier with numerous individuals engaged in animated conversations outside the venue seating or standing in groups of 2, 3 5 or more. There was a discernable cloud of smoke opposite the Eden Grove entrance as lighters ignited cigarettes, both passed around to the next person who jumps in to ask "can I have a lighter?" or "can I have drag?" The smokers huddle together to shield the person flicking the lighter in response to the wind. To their adjacent left, Campus Protection Officers stick out from the crowd of widening eyes and broad smiles in their navy blue uniforms and walkie talkies.

Once inside the building, for some time, I stood at the bottom right entrance, scanning the room, looking for a seat. There were many seated students who had arrived earlier; some had their bags and jackets placed in seats near them holding the space for their friends yet to make their way in. By the time I entered, the only spaces vacant were the stairs which divide the lecture venue into three sections. As I made my way to the middle center stairway, students were clapping their hands, pounding the desks in paces of 2, 3 or more, snapping their fingers, whistling and tuning out melodies of protest song. I remember looking around thinking "this is a lot of people". Whenever there's a seminar, a human rights talk, a book launch at Rhodes… around 60 people show up. But this particular event had attracted way more, overcrowding the venue which ordinarily can hold around 350 people. As I perched myself on the stairs, more student were arriving, but they couldn't enter the venue. On each entry/exit door, there are about 20 students standing, trying to peek into the venue.

The people inside were either having conversations amongst themselves or participating in the tuning of protest song via singing, rhythmic clapping, swaying of arms or stomping of feet. Some were standing behind their chairs, swaying back and forth to the song in procession, scanning the new arrivals for a familiar face. Whispers were exchanged as people who were familiar with each other came together for hugs, handshakes, high fives, fist pumps. There were synchronic nods, the embodiment of smiles and rounds of laughter. I wanted to follow the conversation on Twitter as the meeting was happening, but the connection was weak and every time I tried to connect to the Wi-Fi the network couldn't obtain my IP address. I gave the room

a quick scan; a large number of students came to the venue with posters made from cardboard with various sayings and hashtags. On my left side, behind me, one of the posters had the words "#WECANTBREATHE" on it. On the left, in front of me, another group of students were holding the words #Ubuntu.

A female student in front of me turns around, addressing my friend, says "I can't really hear what they are saying, what were they saying" …[I think in response to the protest songs or some other announcement]

As I try to follow that conversation, there is loud cheering in response to something that is happening to the right-hand side of the room. Directly in front of the second emergency exit on the right hand side of the room, someone is holding a home-made poster with the words "Life at Rhodes is hard without a Laptop". The clapping and cheering intensifies. The words of the songs are becoming more inaudible as clapping, stomping and pounding of desks garners more momentum. In comparison to the bristling winds outside, the temperature in the room feels like a typical summers' day. All around me are bodies; some are here to listen, others are here to speak and others merely want to be heard. While they wait their turns to enter the center stage, they cheer, laugh, nod up and down, side to side, place their hands below their chins, on the side of their faces, they use them to cover their mouths, they bite their fingernails, they clutch a pen and their notebooks to quickly jot something down or use the qwerty to input something on their phones, tablets and notebooks. They cross and uncross their legs, raise them from the ground and place them on their chairs, they fold their legs beneath them and are seated on top of them. They raise their hands to ask a question, they use their one hand to press the knuckles of the other making a sound as their hand joints fall in and out of their socket, they snap their fingers towards the body and the release them away from the body. They raise their hands in a clenched fist to collectively uproar AMANDLA!!!